Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-054
Wednesday
20 March 1991

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-054 *20 March 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: As of 13 March 1991, Moscow domestic radio sourcelines in the DAILY REPORT will reflect how a station identifies itself. This change eliminates the "Domestic Service" designation in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new radio sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Churkin 19 Mar News Conference Reported 1
On SFRY 'Territorial Integrity' *[TASS]* 1
On Protest Note to Denmark *[TASS]* 1
On Baker 1939 Borders Comment *[Moscow Radio]* 1
Shevardnadze Defends Soviet Gulf Policy *[MOSCOW NEWS No 10]* 1
'Successful' Verification Rehearsal in FRG *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 3

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

U.S. Role in Potential USSR Unrest Queried *[PRAVDA 16 Mar]* 5
Bessmertnykh Meets U.S. Trade Consortium Head *[TASS]* 5
Obukhov Meets Canadian Foreign Ministry Aide *[IZVESTIYA 15 Mar]* 5
Yanayev Meets With Leader of U.S. Group *[IZVESTIYA 15 Mar]* 6

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Views Cambodian Peace Prospects *[Moscow International]* 6

Near East & South Asia

Official Visits Iran, Meets Officials *[TASS]* 7
Meets Mujahidin Leaders *[Tehran Radio]* 7
Power Struggle Continues in Iraq *[IZVESTIYA 19 Mar]* 7
Soviet Considerations on Gulf Security Issues *[IZVESTIYA 20 Mar]* 7

East Europe

General Lobov Views Warsaw Pact's Future *[TASS]* 8
Reports View Yugoslav Political Situation 9
Jovic Resignation Worsens Situation *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 19 Mar]* 9
Presidency Faces 'Collapse' *[PRAVDA 20 Mar]* 9
Bessmertnykh on Support for United Yugoslavia *[Belgrade TANJUG]* 10
Paper Reports Bulgarian Legislative Crisis *[PRAVDA 20 Mar]* 10

West Europe

'Clear' FRG Response on 'Deserters' Awaited *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Mar]* 10
Envoy to Germany Deposits Treeaty Document *[IZVESTIYA 18 Mar]* 11
European Commission Sees Union Treaty's Importance *[PRAVDA 14 Mar]* 11

Latin America & Caribbean

Diplomatic Ties To Be Established With Panama *[Moscow TV]* 11
Dominican Republic Restores Ties With USSR *[TASS]* 11
Laptev, Dzasokhov Meet Mexican Delegation *[IZVESTIYA 16 Mar]* 12

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

19 March Session Discusses Cabinet Powers *[Moscow TV]* 13
Orlov Reviews Poll *[Moscow TV]* 13
Procurator General Assesses Yeltsin Speech *[TASS]* 14

Political & Social

Gorbachev Issues Decree on Retail Prices 14
PRAVDA Publishes Decree *[20 Mar]* 14
Pavlov Discusses Decree *[Moscow TV]* 16
Bakatin, Others on Meeting With Gorbachev *[Moscow TV]* 17
Price Committee Chairman on Price Reform *[Moscow TV]* 17
Agreement With Republics on Price Reform *[PRAVDA 20 Mar]* 19
Appendix Defines Price Increases *[PRAVDA 20 Mar]* 20
Regulated Prices List *[PRAVDA 20 Mar]* 21
Funding Arrangements Detailed *[PRAVDA 20 Mar]* 21
Price Increases, Compensation Reviewed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 22
Polls Show Majority Support Gorbachev Decrees *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 22
Kryuchkov Views Terrorism, Domestic Issues *[SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH 27 Feb]* 23
Shatalin Views Current Political Situation *[Madrid EL PAIS 12 Feb]* 26

Economic

Gorbachev Receives Kemerovo Oblast Deputies *[Moscow Radio]* 29
Miners Brief Press *[Moscow Radio]* 30
Independent Miners Union Reiterates Demands *[Radio Rossii]* 30
South Urals Miners Send Delegation to Moscow *[TASS]* 30
10 Mines Now on Strike in Vorkuta *[TASS]* 30
Situation Tense in Pechora Coal Basin *[Moscow Radio]* 30
'Feelings Running High' Among Tula Oblast Miners *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 31
Karaganda Mines Reportedly Operating *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 31
Report From Strike-Hit Rostov Coalfields *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 31
Miners Administration Appeals to Court *[TASS]* 32
Justice Minister on Miners' Demands *[IZVESTIYA 18 Mar]* 32
Metalworkers' TU Chief on Miners' Strike *[Moscow Radio]* 33
Steelworks May Close for Want of Coking Coal *[Moscow TV]* 34
Further Decline Predicted in Soviet Oil Exports *[MOSCOW NEWS No 10]* 34

Scientific

Progress M-7 Launched With Cargo for Mir *[TASS]* 34
Cosmos-2137 Satellite Launched 19 Mar *[TASS]* 35

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

UK's Major 'Firmly Promised' Support for Baltics *[EKHO LITVY 9 Mar]* 36
Estonia's Lippmaa on Meeting With Baker *[Tallinn Radio]* 36
Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium Elected *[TASS]* 37
Latvian Official Comments on Baker Meeting *[Riga International]* 37
Latvia Adopts Law Guaranteeing Equal Rights *[TASS]* 37
Deputy Views Implementation *[Riga Radio]* 37
Lithuania Statement on 14 March Explosion *[Radio Vilnius]* 38

RSFSR

Trubin Finds No Offense in Yeltsin Speeches *[Moscow Radio]* 38
Deputies on Hunger Strike Over General's Post *[Radio Rossii]* 38
Voters Request Recall of Deputy Isakov *[Radio Rossii]* 38
Ingush People Rally for Restorating Statehood *[TASS]* 38
Further on 18 Mar Khasbulatov News Conference *[Moscow TV]* 39
Russian Commission Discusses Union Treaty Draft *[TASS]* 40
Committee Reviews RSFSR Dual Office Ban *[IZVESTIYA 14 Mar]* 40
Russia Establishes Public Security Service *[Moscow Radio]* 42
Democratic Russia Publishes Coup d'Etat 'Aid' *[PRAVDA 12 Mar]* 42
RSFSR Peasants' Party Chairman Interviewed *[Moscow Radio]* 43
Moscow Seeks To Avoid Introducing Food Coupons *[IZVESTIYA 15 Mar]* 43
Russian CP's Polozkov Concludes Murmansk Tour *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 44
Silayev Receives European Bank President *[TASS]* 45
Premier Silayev Meets With Hyundai Executives *[IZVESTIYA 15 Mar]* 45
RSFSR-Greece Economic Agreements Denied *[TASS]* 45

Western Republics

Joint Communique Ensures Borders *[Prague CTK]* 45
Paper Ordered To Retract Gromov Claim *[IZVESTIYA 16 Mar]* 45
Student Challenges Ukraine Premier for Seat *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Mar]* 46
Ukraine's Kravchuk Receives Consul Generals *[Kiev International]* 46
Gurenko Attends Kiev MD Conference *[PRAVDA 16 Mar]* 47
Kiev Ministers, Slovak Delegates Confer *[Bratislava Radio]* 47
Belorussian Leaders' Privileges End *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Mar]* 47

Caucasus

Reportage Updates Ossetian-Georgian Violence 47
'Extremists' Increase Attacks *[Tbilisi Radio]* 47
TASS Reports 4-Day Clash 48
Temporary Cease-Fire Agreed *[Berlin ADN]* 48
Adzhar Supreme Soviet Chairman Resigns *[TASS]* 48
Gamsakhurdia Addresses Media 23 Feb *[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 26 Feb]* 48
Armenia Rebuffs Gorbachev Appeal on NKAO *[Yerevan Radio]* 54
Armenian Legislature Holds Extraordinary Session *[TASS]* 55
Armenian President Calls for Stabilization *[TASS]* 55
Armenia Issues Warning to Self-Determination Group *[TASS]* 56
Correction to Kalinin Name Change 56

Churkin 19 Mar News Conference Reported

On SFRY 'Territorial Integrity'

LD1903151691 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (TASS)—"The Soviet Union has consistently advocated and continues to advocate the preservation of the territorial integrity of the SFRY, and the inviolability of the borders and unity of the Yugoslav state." This was stated during a briefing today by Vitaliy Churkin, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, setting out at the request of journalists the USSR's position regarding the events taking place in Yugoslavia.

The resolution of the issues that have arisen there, the diplomat continued, is the affair of the peoples of Yugoslavia. There should be no external interference or "internationalization" of internal Yugoslav affairs. He voiced conviction of the need for all parties to adhere to the principles of the CSCE. This, in the words of Vitaliy Churkin, will meet the aims of developing advantageous cooperation and trust among all the states of Europe.

On Protest Note to Denmark

LD1903173691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1521 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (TASS)—The joint protocol on cooperation between the Kingdom of Denmark and the Republic of Estonia, which was signed on 11 March this year in Copenhagen by Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Danish minister of foreign affairs; and Lennart Meri, his Estonian counterpart, contradicts the principles of international law. This is stated in a note handed to the Danish ambassador to the USSR today by Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the information directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, familiarized journalists with the note's content during a briefing.

The document stresses that the issue of "the restoration" of Danish diplomatic relations with the union republic raised in the protocol "also contradicts Denmark's duties in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 relating to the respect of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, and inviolability of borders of all participants in the CSCE process." In the note the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs draws attention to the fact that representation has already been made to Denmark regarding its signing of a similar protocol with the Republic of Lithuania on 28 February 1991. The appearance of a new document, the note states, testifies to the fact that the Danish side has not shown any understanding of the considerations expressed by the Soviet Union about the fact that the development of relations between Denmark and a union republic is possible within the framework of the constitution of the USSR. In connection with this, the current action by the Danish side can be regarded as "an unfriendly act toward the Soviet Union."

It was also pointed out to the Danish ambassador that the content of the current document also fully applies to the signing of a protocol between Denmark and the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic on 18 March, on which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has information. The Danish side was told that Copenhagen's moves in Baltic affairs would inflict damage on the normal course of Soviet- Danish relations and harm perestroyka. The ambassador was also told that "if corrections are not made to the current line, the Soviet side will be compelled to think up measures in response."

On Baker 1939 Borders Comment

LD1903185791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1730 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Kuzin on news conference by Vitaliy Churkin, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, with journalists in Moscow on 19 March]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In response to a question about how the Soviet side interprets the statement by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker during his meeting with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev regarding the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States within the borders of 1939, Vitaliy Churkin noted that the point was that the United States and certain other countries do not recognize the inclusion of the three Baltic republics within the composition of the USSR in 1940. The United States also made this proviso during the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, he said, but, nevertheless, in his words, this in no way hampers the existence of the Soviet Union as a union of 15 republics.

Shevardnadze Defends Soviet Gulf Policy

PM1903165691 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10, 10-17 Mar 91 p 13

[Unattributed interview with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze; date, place not given: "The Gulf Crisis: Problems And Solutions"]

[Text] It's time to summarize.

Eduard Shevardnadze wasn't among those politicians whose actions helped shape the concluding stage of the Gulf conflict. But all the problems leading to the war were piling up while he was still Soviet Foreign Miniser and obliged to propose innovative solutions. His efforts culminated in the UN Security Council session where, for the first time ever, a Soviet Foreign Minister joined

his U.S. counterpart to vote for a resolution sanctiong the use of force in order to punish those who have violated international law.

MN: The Gulf war is over. Given the course of the conflict, how do you assess its outcome? In particular, from the point of view of morality vs. politics. It's a problem you paid a lot of attention to while still Soviet Foreign Minister.

E.Sh.: If the cold war is over and it has become possible to restructure East-West and U.S.-Soviet relations, relations between Europe and other countries, this is largely thanks to the policy of new thinking. We were placing greater emphasis on human factors and moral principles because the world and politics had changed. Now we trust each other more.

Then came the war in the Gulf. I think, we came up against a very hard test. Now we can see that modern civilization and the world community have stood the test.

We, and I have in mind the entire world community, have proved that we can work together despite certain difficulties, differences of views and interests. This cooperation has prevented a catastrophe. It is terrible that there are casualties, that blood was spilled, and there is material damage. But the events could have taken a still ghastlier turn. But that did not happen and we can well speak of a new political order in the world. There is an ever growing confidence that aggression will not be left unpunished. I see this as the most important outcome.

MN: You repeatedly explained to the Iraqi leaders the dangerous consequences of their occupation of Kuwait. Why didn't Baghdad heed your warnings of impending disaster?

E.Sh.: It's very difficult to say what prompted Iraq to take this adventurous step.

When I met with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Irkutsk shortly before the crisis, he said he had proof that the aggression was possible. He also had a report concerning that. I didn't believe him, I admit. I said this couldn't happen because it doesn't make sense. Such aggression was unimaginable, given the processes going on in the world. Sensible people, I thought, could not take such a decision. I was very disappointed on my return to Moscow only to know that Iraq had attacked Kuwait. The Soviet Union called a spade a spade when it roundly condemned Iraq's action as aggression and demanded that it be stopped immediately.

MN: Soon after this your actions came under criticism: first, inside the USSR, with no apparent references to the Gulf situation; and then later with direct references to the Soviet position as regarding the conflict.

E.Sh.: I can't see any faults primarily from the point of view of morality and common human values in the policy I happened to carry out. We told the Iraqis right from the start: the consequences would be dire, unpredictable. We conveyed this message via our ambassador in Baghdad. I said as much to Iraq's Foreign Minister. Finally there was an exchange of messages. Mikhail Gorbachev sent messages to Saddam Husayn, and warned: Leave before it's too late. This was the only sensible course of action. Sadly, our advice fell on a deaf ear. Even when we were preparing a final resolution, we insisted that Iraq be given time to think things over till January 15.

We tried to put this goodwill pause to good use. There were all sorts of contacts, including the trip to Moscow by Iraq's Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz. I talked to him for four hours. What we talked about is not classified: the verbatim record is available. I tried to depict for his benefit all possible consequences of the aggression. I also detailed for him all I knew about the US military potential, the qualities of its equipment in the sense of its precision and destructive power. More than that, I minced no words, saying that the Iraqi leaders were committing suicide. Mikhail Gorbachev conducted his discussion with Tariq 'Aziz in a tougher style.

Having met with Tariq 'Aziz in Moscow, I concluded that war was inevitable. The leaders wouldn't accept any compromises. They made their pullout of Kuwait contingent on a solution of the Palestine issue-and this simply wasn't serious. Why should the liberation of one people be dependent on the subjugation of another Moslem people? This was an adventurist plan aimed at inveigling Israel into joining the military actions, to turn the conflict into an Arab-Israeli conflict and then into a world conflict if possible. This was the size of the danger. For this reason right from the start I advocated a tough line towards the Iraqi policy. Saddam had to leave unconditionally. After that, all the other issues could be resolved: the Palestinian issue, the formation of security structures, etc.

MN: Do you think, perhaps, had President Gorbachev come up with his ceasefire initiative earlier, and not at the last moment, it could have succeeded?

E.Sh.: There was a plan to unveil the idea before January 15, somewhere around January 10-12. The terms were generally similar to those the President finally proposed. We wanted to propose this initiative after thorough consultations with the permanent members of the Security Council and some Arab countries. But the proposal made by the Foreign Ministry was not acted upon. How can I assess it today? I don't blame anyone because even I wasn't very sure that Iraq was going to use this opportunity. The Iraqis had made their decision, had convinced themselves that they could win the war. Still, it would have been more sensible to have made this proposal before January 15.

MN: But could there have been a chance?

E.Sh.: Perhaps...This might have been useful even as a propaganda move to suggest that one more chance was given.

MN: Is it your impression that countries where power is in the hands of one man like Saddam Husayn can't conduct normal diplomacy and that the whole process of discussions, consultations and decision making gets distorted?

E.Sh.: Yes. It's hard to speak of diplomacy in conditions of dictatorship and totalitarianism. Decisions get made on the spur of the moment and people only get information that is fed to them by their leader. Without objective and complete information concerning the alignment of forces and what the people think, no serious and intelligent decisions can be taken.

MN: You were blamed for excessive harshness during the talks.

E.Sh.: I know, they blame me for being well-nigh an advocate of the use of military force. This is ridiculous. Surely I was harsh when I warned about the consequences. I said that should a single Soviet citizen suffer, if all Soviets were not released, the consequences would be very unpredictable.

I was accused of wanting to send Soviet troops to the Gulf. Nothing of the kind. On the whole, I admit I advocated a rather tough line against the aggressor. But I also considered what our actions might be in the conflict. Are there any guarantees that a similar situation won't develop in some other area? Would it again be a job for only U.S. or British troops? I proposed that the possibilities of the Security Council Military Staff Committee be employed to the extent provided for in the UN Charter. The Charter says that the UN can sign suitable treaties with the permanent members of the Security Council in order to employ troops. I tabled this proposal at the General Assembly session. Today I am positive that this course of action is likely to be preferred in future conflicts.

MN: Still, do you feel that any errors were made by our side? What lessons can we learn?

E.Sh.: I don't think all the signals we sent to Saddam Husayn were justified. I can't rule out that some were debatable. But some of the signals were false and they could have provoked Saddam. On the other hand, you can well imagine that thousands of Soviets were working in Iraq, and that they had to be rescued. For this reason I think our actions and trips there were justified, and Americans knew that even if they didn't like the idea. On the whole we acted in concert, especially in the Security Council.

President Gorbachev's initiative to stop the conflict in its later stage before the start of the ground war was met with scepticism around the world. I don't think that the initiative has caused or can cause any serious friction in Soviet-U.S. relations as some say nowadays. Our relations have advanced too far ahead and are too promising to become clouded by such things.

At this new stage we will form new relations with Iraq. We will scale down, if not totally eliminate, our military cooperation, supplies of military equipment, etc. We will cooperate in agriculture, irrigation, electrification, in economic matters, etc. Iraq is an exciting country of proud, industrious people with a high-standard of culture. Therefore I'm sure it will find its place in the civilized world.

But relations with Iraq are of course only part of the issue. Without having resolved the "bigger" Middle East conflict, this region will surely remain a trouble spot. There should be speedy steps towards a settlement in the entire Middle East.

The most important thing, I think, is that global problems should start to be tackled immediately. It would be useful to start immediate consultations on the subject with members of the Security Council. President Mitterrand's call for a special session of the Security Council attended by heads of the governments deserves special attention. The session can discuss all the rational proposals tabled by the Soviet Union and the other partners in the Middle East settlement.

And one more thing. To solve the problems in that region means that the Soviet Union, among other things, will need to officially recognize Israel, so that the USSR will be able to join hands and act concertedly with all interested sides without exception.

'Successful' Verification Rehearsal in FRG

PM1903164191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 91 Second Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent Ye. Grigoryev: "'The Inspector Is Coming!' Reportage on the Inspection of Military Facilities in Europe"]

[Text] Bonn-Dresden-Marienberg—Two colonels, Inspector Taykhman [name as transliterated], leader of the Czechoslovak group, and Khantushke [name as transliterated], chief of the Bundeswehr escort group, sat with their teams on either side of a long table in the upstairs lounge of Dresden Airport. I had seen the visitors from Prague the day before at a reception given by the head of the government of the Free State of Saxony, as one of the FRG's new federal laender has now decided to call itself.

The dress uniforms of the generals and officers in the "Puschkin" Hall of Dresden's "Newa" Hotel were dazzling. They had come from the 22 states that are party to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, signed in Paris last November. But next morning they were dressed in their field uniforms. There was work to do. It was the first rehearsal of monitoring procedures in accordance with the protocol to the treaty. Four states—the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Hungary, the FRG, and the United States—participated simultaneously in it, and this was also a novel phenomenon in arms control practice. The rest responded by sending

observers. The demonstration inspection began near Prague and then continued in Saxony and Bavaria, where the facilities to be checked were Bundeswehr and U.S. Army units and supply depots

The military observers were armed with portable movie cameras, still photography cameras, dictating machines, and notebooks. The same goes for the journalists who were invited along by the FRG defense minister and brought from Bonn on a former GDR National People's Army aircraft—the military transport version of the Soviet AN-26—inherited by the Bundeswehr. The markings had been changed to the black cross. But the commander is the same—nice young Captain Hartmann, a graduate, he said, of the Kirovograd aviation school.

Meanwhile, the Czechoslovak inspectors approached the airport building from the direction of the airfield, as if they had not spent the night in Dresden. They passed through border and customs checks before going to the upstairs lounge. There, at a table surrounded by military observers, the inspection and escort groups were introduced to one another and equipment brought by the guests was checked. Binoculars, cameras, and compasses were laid on the table.

"What is that?" Colonel Khantushke asked, pointing to a brown leather case.

"A device to monitor chemical weapons," Taykhman, leader of the Czechoslovak inspectors' group, replied.

"Unfortunately there is no provision for it in the verification protocol, so I cannot allow the instrument to be used," the Bundeswehr representative announced his decision. He suggested that it be deposited in a metal box with two locks and keys.

"Of course, it is all a kind of theater, even the dialogues are written down beforehand," General Vogel, the Bundeswehr's chief representative at the demonstration inspection, said at the briefing. But one detected not a trace of irony on the faces of the military experts. Every detail was important to them. They photographed and made a note of everything. And both colonels, reading out their prepared texts at the table, were so deep into their roles that an innocent bystander would never guess that they were "pretending." The inspector gave the facility to be checked the number 217. Apparently, everything that is subject to verification under the treaty in each country gets a number. In this case it is barracks, supply depots, and the Bundeswehr's 7th Motorized Rifle Regiment training center in Marienberg.

We were there in an hour. Regimental commander Lieutenant Colonel Nickel, who combines the new post with his former "main job" as commander of the 244th Tank Battalion in Landshut (Bavaria), gave the inspectors a detailed report on the armaments there, which are subject to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. They are tanks, armored personnel carriers and infantry combat vehicles, self-propelled guns, other artillery systems, and bridgelaying tanks. He also said how many there were in garages, how many were being repaired and where, and how many were on the firing range. Then the inspectors checked the area out, comparing the equipment there with the data they had been supplied with, establishing how many infantry combat vehicles were being used in exercises.

"Why such interest in this demonstration inspection?" I asked our observer, Lieutenant General V. Medvedev, head of the Center for the Reduction of the Nuclear Danger, to explain.

"The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe is a very complex document and its implementation will be a laborious process, requiring considerable preparation," Vladimir Ivanovich replied. "Recognizing this, practically all the countries party to the treaty began preparations in advance of ratification. The demonstration inspection is a preparatory measure. The purpose and aims of the demonstration inspection are to school our people in the practice of holding inspections, and second, to demonstrate to all observers possible solutions regarding certain elements of the prtotocol."

The demonstration inspection was successful, as nearly all the foreign observers admit. This was greatly assisted by the efficient organization of the verification rehearsal carried out by the Bundeswehr's Center for Verification Tasks, which will be officially opened in April at the former "Pershing" base in Heilenkirchen [as published]. Similar establishments are being set up in other European countries, the participants in the inspection said. Indeed, there are going to be many inspections—hundreds and hundreds.

Obviously, in the near future, when the treaty is ratified and comes into force, Gogol's famous "The Inspector Is Coming!" in its modern-day version will be virtually everyday news in one country or another that has signed the historic treaty. Without the pantomime element, of course.

United States & Canada

U.S. Role in Potential USSR Unrest Queried

PM1803104991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 91 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent V. Linnik report under the "On the Spot" rubric: "Operation 'Steppe Shield'? Will U.S. Troops Invade the Soviet Union?—This Question Concerns U.S. Journalists"]

[Text] New York—The above is the headline of a commentary in the latest issue of TIME magazine. It broaches for the first time the question of the possibility of U.S. intervention in the Soviet Union if civil war breaks out in the USSR. "The idea sounds wilder than, say, the supposition 1 August last year that half a million Americans would fight Iraq," the author says coyly. The subtext is obvious: Since something that seemed impossible 1 August became a reality, why should another as yet unthinkable hypothesis not come true? At any rate, the Pentagon and the CIA do not reject this scenario outright, the writer continues. In this connection these circles are reappraising the dates for the U.S. troop withdrawal both from the Persian Gulf zone and from Europe. Naturally, with a view to delaying. What reason might the United States consider adequate for a dramatic decision to send its troops to the USSR? In the magazine's view, there may be many reasons: What is more, they are so loose that they could be tailored to fit virtually any scenario. "While Gorbachev is in power," TIME writes, "the Bush Administration will strive to cooperate with him. If he is deposed or 'co-opted' by a military junta, the Administration will have cause for concern. Suppose the new regime decided to openly conquer and occupy the Baltic, which would then ask the United States for help? Or suppose that it (the regime) not only suppressed dissidents but also canceled plans to withdraw Soviet troops from Eastern Europe?"

Who will decide whether Gorbachev has been "co-opted" by a "junta" or not? Does the presence of troop garrisons in the Baltic now constitute occupation, perhaps? Consequently, from the formal viewpoint, is there already a ready-made excuse for U.S. military intervention? One of my U.S. acquaintances told me not so long ago half-joking, half-serious that, if there were oil in Lithuania, U.S. troops would also be there given certain circumstances. In its article TIME seems to have decided to clarify for the uninitiated what these circumstances might be. What if we tried to write about the United States in similar vein—say, with regard to the possibility of sending Soviet troops to Puerto Rico at the request of the indigenous population? Does that sound ridiculous? Exactly....

The TIME article is perhaps the "latest word" in the ongoing debate about Soviet-U.S. relations in the United States. At any rate, I have not read anything of the kind in the U.S. press hitherto. That is why, to be on the safe side, I decided to go straight to the writer of the commentary—TIME's White House correspondent, Michael Duffy. The first thing he asked was: "Is this on the record. ' When I answered in the affirmative, he continued very obligingly, albeit somewhat apologetically: "The headline is perhaps a bit over the top. But you know how editors sometimes stick their oar in. This probably happens at your PRAVDA too.... I think that the report reflects the Administration's general concern at the development of events in the USSR, which could directly affect neighboring countries' security and make it necessary to amend the schedule for the U.S. troop withdrawal from Europe and the Persian Gulf. The Administration is currently considering this possiblity. But the President is by and large in the mood to do business with Gorbachev. There is no doubt of that."

My old friend, TIME's diplomatic observer S. Talbott, reacted like this to the commentary: "In my view, the very idea is somewhat farfetched. I would not be surprised if B. Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, were to reject it in private. It is well known that politicians generally work out scenarios to cover the most extreme cases. The commentary reflects rather the concern felt by states bordering on the Soviet Union at the possible development of events in the USSR. In particular, Turkey is extremely alarmed at what might happen in the Transcaucasus. I do not think that the article can be regarded as harking back to events of 1919, however."

It is hard to tell what factor figures largest in TIME's sententious statements—the U.S. press' customary desire to cause a sensation at any price? Or was the writer saying what people really think in Washington's corridors of power? At any rate, all this does not help, to use the well-known phrase....

Bessmertnykh Meets U.S. Trade Consortium Head

LD1903144391 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh today met President of the American Trade Consortium James Giffen.

Giffen is in the Soviet Union for talks on setting up the Soviet- U.S. Tengizchevroil joint venture and some other major projects.

They discussed prospects for Soviet-U.S. cooperation, including in consumer goods production.

Obukhov Meets Canadian Foreign Ministry Aide

PM1903095591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 14 March USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Obukhov received R. Irvin, chief of the USSR and

East European Countries Administration of the Canadian Ministry for External Relations, who is heading the Canadian delegation at the Soviet-Canadian political consultations via foreign ministry channels that are being held in Moscow. A number of fundamental questions of bilateral relations were examined from the angle of ensuring the continuity and stability of the political dialogue and varied cooperation between the Soviet Union and Canada.

M.R. Bell, Canadian ambassador to the USSR, participated in the conversation.

Yanayev Meets With Leader of U.S. Group

PM1903095191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 13 March USSR Vice President G.I. Yanayev received A. Schneier, president of the "Appeal of Conscience" U.S. socioreligious organization, who is visiting the Soviet Union.

In the course of the conversation A. Schneier was briefed on the Soviet leadership's approach to the resolution of existing economic, political, and national problems and to the development of Soviet-U.S. relations.

There was a lively, interested exchange of opinions on a number of questions of a humanitarian nature.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Views Cambodian Peace Prospects

BK1903092991 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Last week a delegation of the Soviet Government paid a visit to Beijing where the Soviet and Chinese sides held talks on bilateral relations. A member of the Soviet delegation, Deputy Foreign Minister Comrade Igor Rogachev, held a discussion at the PRC Foreign Ministry on some issues concerning foreign policy.

Our correspondent Albert Papayan sent the following dispatch from the Chinese capital:

The two sides paid considerable attention to the Cambodian problem, particularly when active talks and consultations between different parties involved in the Cambodian conflict were underway at that time. How would the settlement of the Cambodian problem develop? What stance would the Soviet Union take?

Answering these questions that I posed to him, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Comrade Igor Rogachev said:

Special attention has been focused on the prospects of the Cambodian solution based on the recent event of the five UN Security Council permanent members, including also China and the Soviet Union, elaborating a draft agreement on Cambodia. Lately, however, conditions concerning some points in this document have been raised by the Phnom Penh Government.

Comrade Igor Rogachev went on to say: In general, the government of the State of Cambodia has stated that it recognizes that the United Nations might play an important role in the Cambodian settlement and that it agrees with the majority of points of the framework document. At the same time, however, concerning some important clauses such as the dismantling of the warring factions' armies, our friends in Phnom Penh have put forward a number of conditions. The documents worked out by the five big powers are merely recommendations and the final decision on the whole framework document should be made by the Cambodian factions themselves. And now the time has arrived. What then do we think should be done? We must pay sufficient attention to all these additional issues in order to thoroughly examine them and, if possible, add them to the framework document.

Now the different parties taking part in the talks on Cambodia seem to be slowing their pace. In our opinion, the most important thing is to continue at all levels the dialogue initiated in the past. We deem it most important that the talks between the United States and the Phnom Penh Government be resumed. In our view, equally important are the direct contacts between Washington and Hanoi. Discussions have already been initiated by the two sides on the normalization of relations between the United States and Vietnam. I myself cannot envision any Cambodian solution or any improvement of the overall situation in Southeast Asia without the normalization of U.S.-Vietnamese relations, stressed Comrade Igor Rogachev.

First of all, we should ensure that countries such as France, India, Japan, and Australia, which have already made no small contributions to the process of a Cambodian solution, do not halt their efforts.

In the not too distant future, I think, all of us will have to ponder how to promote as soon as possible the holding of a meeting between the Cambodian factions themselves by recovening the members of the Cambodian Supreme National Council [SNC]. In my opinion, soon after that there might be an SNC session with the participation of the two cochairmen of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia [PICC], namely the representatives of France and Indonesia. Furthermore, the time is now ripe for a joint conference of the SNC and the five big powers, also with the participation of the two PICC cochairmen. Afterward, the agenda should also include the question of convening the coordinating committee of the PICC. All these steps might lead toward the convening of the PICC at the foreign ministers' level and toward the signing of a conclusive agreement on the comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian problem, said Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Comrade Igor Rogachev in conclusion.

Near East & South Asia

Official Visits Iran, Meets Officials

LD1903235291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1750 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Tehran, 19 Mar (TASS)—N.I. Kozyrev, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs ambassador at large, has arrived in Tehran on a working visit related to the settlement of the Afghan problem. The visit is being made within the framework of the agreements on the exchange of delegations on the questions of the settlement in Afghanistan.

The Soviet representative has held the first round of talks with representatives of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the course of which the USSR position was expounded and the importance of the role of the Islamic Republic of Iran in solving the Afghan problem was stressed.

Meets Mujahidin Leaders

LD1903175991 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] A special Soviet envoy sent to Iran met this afternoon with leaders of the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan and declared his country's preparedness to cooperate with the Afghan Mujahidin with a view to attaining tranquillity and allowing the destiny of Afghanistan to be determined by the people of that country. Nicolay Ivanovich Kozyrev, the USSR roving ambassador, met Seyyed Rahmatollah Mostafavi, spokesman of the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan and several other Mujahidin leaders. He expressed the hope that the years-long bloodshed in Afghanistan will come to an end.

Referring to the fact that the stances of the Soviet Union and Iran on the Afghan problem have been close, in many cases, he said: Without the Afghan nation, no political settlement in Afghanistan would be possible. To secure the interests of their country, the representatives of the Afghan nation must put an end to war and bloodshed in Afghanistan.

Power Struggle Continues in Iraq

PM1903143991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 91 Union Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA PRESS SERVICE report: "Iraq: Situation Remains Unclear"]

[Text] Conflicting reports are continuing to come out of Iraq: To all appearances, fierce clashes between government forces and insurgents, to whose side some army subunits have crossed over, are still going on in many regions of the country.

It is true that, speaking on Baghdad television, Iraqi President Saddam Husayn announced that the uprising in the south has been crushed, acknowledging at the same time that he has not yet managed to deal with the Kurdish insurgents in the north. However, according to a claim made by Iraqi opposition representatives in Beirut, and also according to witnesses who have arrived in Iran as refugees, the opposition to the regime is continuing in the south as well. According to certain reports, the insurgents still control a number of cities and the strategic highway leading from Baghdad to Basra.

Iranian television has reported that government forces have subjected the sacred Shi'ite cities of al-Najaf and Karbala' to missile bombardment, and have used napalm against the rebels. On the instructions of Iranian spiritual leader Ayatollah Khamene'i, because of the large number of casualties among the peaceful population and the strikes against the holy cities, 18 March has been declared a day of mourning. In his turn, Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani announced that he is "disturbed by the Republican Guard's mass slaughter of Iraqis." The Iranian Supreme National Security Council has categorically refuted "fabrications" to the effect that Tehran is interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq and providing support to the Shi'ite insurgents. At the same time, the council stresses in its statement that "the only way to Iraq's salvation is the subordination of this country's government to the will of its people."

In his attempts to keep control of the situation in the country, Saddam Husayn has sent 'Izzat Ibrahim, deputy chairman of the Revolution Command Council, to the north, to the province of Ta'mim, where he has met with representatives of the Kurdish tribes who have stayed loyal to the Baghdad regime. He called on "all Kurds to participate in the battle to unify and reconstruct the country."

In his television speech the Iraqi president stated that the Ba'th party, which has ruled the country since 1968, is the "only force" capable of preserving the country's unity. But at the same time he promised to carry through political reforms and even to introduce a multiparty system in Iraq.

Soviet Considerations on Gulf Security Issues

PM1903163691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 91 Union Edition p 5

["Extracts" from text handed to U.S. Secretary of State Baker during his 15 March talk with M.S. Gorbachev entitled "The Persian Gulf After the War: The USSR's Considerations"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The editorial office has received from the USSR Foreign Ministry the text of "The Soviet Union's Considerations on the Fundamentals of a Postcrisis Structure in the Persian Gulf Zone," which was handed to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker during his talk with M.S. Gorbachev on 15 March. We quote here the main extracts from it.

The Kuwait crisis and how to surmount it were a test of strength for the new thinking. The world community, in passing this test, demonstrated that a considerable distance has already been traveled along the road from the cold war to a new system of international relations.

A steady process of normalization in the Persian Gulf could have a positive effect on improving the climate throughout the Near East and help to resolve the problems generated by the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Security in the postcrisis period can be safeguarded, in our view, through the implementation of practical measures in the following main areas:

1. The key role undoubtedly belongs to the states located in the region. It should not, however, be a question of creating insular bloc groupings. The postcrisis settlement should not be oriented against anyone. On the contrary, it should promote collaboration among all interested countries in the region, as well as states that do not actually belong to the region but make important contributions to the maintenance of peace and stability there.

It is important that the future accords be founded on the fundamental principles of international law: noninterference in each other's internal affairs, the nonuse of force or the threat of force, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, and the recognition of the right of all states of the region to sovereignty and territorial integrity.

2. The lessons of the Kuwait crisis require the implementation of consistent steps to limit the arms race in the region and the maintenance of a balance of forces at ever lower levels, until the level of defense sufficiency is reached.

A barrier must be erected in the path of the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and other types of mass destruction weapons in the region. Proposals to create a zone free from these types of weapons in the Near East merit attention. It is important for all the Near Eastern countries to accede to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, as well as the Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.

It is necessary to examine seriously the question of a balanced reduction in weapons deliveries to the region. First and foremost it is a question of showing restraint with regard to offensive types of arms, particularly missiles and missile technology.

3. The foreign military presence should not exceed the levels that existed in the region as of 1 August 1990. If military support from outside proves necessary for a certain period, then a role could be played here by UN peacekeeping forces or UN observers, or both together, involving contingents from Arab, Muslim, and other countries.

4. The task of establishing all-around economic cooperation among the region's countries lies ahead—first and foremost for the purpose of postwar restoration of the war-ravaged economies. It is necessary to launch international collaboration to eliminate the damage caused to the environment by the hostilities.

5. Important functions in the field of external support for the postcrisis settlement in the Persian Gulf region should belong to the United Nations. This stems logically from the role played by the Security Council in organizing the collective rebuff of Iraqi aggression. First and foremost, the United Nations could act as guarantor of compliance with the accords.

Our proposal that in the event of the emergence of a threat to shipping in the Persian Gulf region naval forces should be set up under the UN flag, remains in force. The new level of confidence between the permanent members of the Security Council justifies a return to the discussion of the question of bringing the UN Military Staff Committee into operation in crisis situations.

6. The task of lessening military tension in the Near East requires purposeful efforts to eliminate the political causes of instability and conflicts.

It is necessary to tackle without delay the problem of a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The success of efforts in this direction will make it possible for the security system that is created in the Persian Gulf zone to be incorporated in wider regional structures. And the security of the peoples of the Near and Middle East will certainly gain from this.

We recognize that the creation of a security system for the whole region is not a single act, but a process, which will take time to organize. It is all the more necessary, therefore, as soon as possible to take at least the first steps toward achieving this process in those spheres where success can realistically be expected.

East Europe

General Lobov Views Warsaw Pact's Future

LD1903144691 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, March 19 TASS—Chief of Staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, General Vladimir Lobov says that, whatever the destiny of the Warsaw Treaty he believes that new forms of cooperation will be governed by popular interests and the further development of good-neighbourly relations. He gave an interview to TASS today, two weeks before the Warsaw Treaty military agreements expire.

Lobov said that the extraordinary meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Budapest (1991) adopted decisions to eliminate military structures of the Warsaw Treaty organisation by March 31, 1991.

Lobov said that all the military structures of the Warsaw Treaty—the Committee of Defence Ministers, the Joint Command of the Armed Forces, the Military Council, the Technical Council of the Joint Armed Forces, as well as the joint anti-aircraft defences system—have virtually been eliminated. Representatives of the commander-in-chief of the joint armed forces at national defence ministries have been recalled.

Lobov believes that all this complex and responsible work has been done in close interaction with defence ministries of countries and their general staffs. Lobov believes that the road to create a new system of European security will be complex and not easy. He believes that Europe's vital interests will be decided not only within its boundaries.

"At the stage when the existing mechanisms of security begin to be scrapped, while new ones have not yet been created, there is a need for high responsibility regarding guarantess of security of every state." Lobov said the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries have stated more than once that they do not regard each other as potential enemies.

"I would like to believe that following the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty military structures, this fundamental provision will be reflected in NATO's military doctrine and strategy in which there has not been substantial improvements as yet."

Reports View Yugoslav Political Situation

Jovic Resignation Worsens Situation

PM2003094991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Mar 91 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Situation Deteriorates"]

[Text] The internal political situation in Yugoslavia remains complex and full of uncertainty after the resignation of Borisav Jovic, chairman of the SFRY Presidency. The members of this, the country's supreme state organ, from the Republic of Montenegro and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina have made similar announcements.

The prevailing situation in the country was urgently discussed by the SFRY Presidency meeting in an incomplete session. Without conceding its own authority the Presidency supported the need to continue talks on Yugoslavia's future state structure with the participation of representatives of the country's republics and autonomous provinces. An important condition of overcoming the crisis peacefully, it was noted at the session, is democratic dialogue, the renunciation of political ambitions, and an end to the propaganda war. The Presidency supported the measures being adopted by the country's government aimed at ensuring the normal functioning of the federal bodies in the runup to the conclusion of a new federal treaty.

For his part, B. Jovic on Saturday criticized the results of the session of the supreme state body, indicating that in the session report an attempt had been made to hide from the public the main content of the debate which had developed recently in the SFRY Presidency, and this showed a desire to duck responsibility.

In the assessment of local observers, the situation in the country is being complicated by the statement—also made on Saturday—by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to the effect that that republic is also refusing to fulfill the SFRY Presidency decisions.

There is unrest today in some regions of Croatia, where the executive organ of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, which has been set up on the republic's territory, held an emergency session. The session adopted a decision that the province and some municipalities should secede from Croatia and unite their territory with the rest of the Federation.

Presidency Faces 'Collapse'

PM2003092391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 91 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent Ye. Fadeyev report: "Split in the Presidency, Unity in the Army"]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Mar—The political situation in Yugoslavia continues to be tense and unstable. A session of the collective head of state—the SFRY Presidency, which has essentially collapsed—was scheduled for 21 March.

As has already been reported, the resignation of President B. Jovic has been followed by another two resignations from the Presidency by the representatives of Montenegro and Vojvodina Autonomous Province. Yesterday an emergency session of the Serbian Federal Assembly (parliament) decided to remove yet another Presidency member—R. Sapundziyu of Kosovo Autonomous Province.

You get the impression that the Yugoslav Presidency will be unable to function in the future, since only half of its eight members are left. Furthermore, Serbian leader S. Milosevic has stated that the largest Yugoslav republic will no longer recognize the decisions of the SFRY Presidency.

The remaining Presidency members are making efforts to prevent its collapse. They believe that a democratic dialogue is needed to get out of the crisis.

The following statement by M. Kucan, leader of Slovenia—a republic which has announced its secession from Yugoslavia—came as a surprise: "Those who do not attend the joint session of the Presidency and the republic leaders will bear full responsibility as far as our own nation and the world public are concerned for the consequences of such a step." In M. Kucan's words, the only alternative to democratic dialogue is war, and nobody in Europe wants that.

A session of the SFRY Federal Assembly will be held in the next few days. The federal government is seeking ways to solve the problems. What about the Army? Army General V. Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, did not attend the last Presidency session. The federal secretary for national defense's information service resolutely rejected the report on Croatian radio that Colonel General B. Adzic, chief of the Yugoslav People's Army General Staff, had resigned. The Yugoslav People's Army is fully united in its assessment of the very serious situation in the country and of the measures which should be taken in this connection.

Bessmertnykh on Support for United Yugoslavia

LD1903144191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (TANJUG)—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh stated today that the USSR supports the preservation of a united Yugoslavia, which he described as a country "playing an important and active role in Europe, both in terms of the Nonaligned Movement and international relations as a whole."

Bessmertnykh stated in his talks with Milan Veres, Yugoslavia's ambassador to the USSR, that this has been and has remained the clear position which the Soviet Union has been consistently supporting. At the same time he said he hopes that the internal problems in Yugoslavia will be overcome and successfully resolved.

In the talks between Bessmertnykh and the Yugoslav ambassador, who was received in a farewell visit, the mutual conclusion was reached that Yugoslav-Soviet relations and cooperation are stable and that they are developing comprehensively. Bessmertnykh confirmed that the Soviet Union's general line is that "bilateral relations between the two friendly countries should be further improved in the future."

Paper Reports Bulgarian Legislative Crisis

PM2003091591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 91 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent L. Zhmyrev report: "From Discussion to Confrontation"]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Mar—Yesterday, as if on the front line, all Bulgarians waited tensely for three hours beside their televisions and radios for reports from the Grand National Assembly. Will it really be dissolved? This would mean new elections, the halting of economic reform, and the slowing of the entire democratic process.

Nonetheless, legislature resumed its sitting at 1800 hours instead 1500 as scheduled. However, its fate remains in question. Feelings are running high over the Credentials Commission's decision not to recognize the powers of an opposition leader—something with which the Union of Democratic Forces does not want to agree. There is another stumbling block, too. This is the publication of the names of those deputies who cooperated with state security organs during T. Zhivkov's time.

In connection with the threat of a legislative crisis, President Zh. Zhelev expressed the hope that a reasonable compromise would be reached on these disputes.

What position has been adopted under these conditions by the main political force with the majority of seats in the legislature—the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]? A statement from the BSP leadership containing sharp assessments was broadcast yesterday on national television. The dissolving of the legislature would be a manifestation of adventurism in our political life, the statement said. It would call into question not only the legislature and democracy, but Bulgaria's present and future as a whole.

West Europe

'Clear' FRG Response on 'Deserters' Awaited

PM1903145791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 91 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel L. Los article: "FRG: Will They Hand Over Deserters?"]

[Text] Western Group of Forces—The command of the Western Group of Forces has on several occasions raised with the German authorities the question of their handing over Western Group of Forces servicemen who have left their units and sought refuge in the FRG. This question was also broached, in particular, during a meeting in Bonn between Colonel General M. Burlakov, commander of the Western Group of Forces, and federal government ministers. The German side has not as yet given a clear response or any clear guarantees, but it is quite possible that the matter will be sorted out in the near future.

Citing a conversation with an FRG Interior Ministry consultant, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU reported that the FRG Government intends to hand over these servicemen to the Soviet authorities. The newspaper stipulated that a final decision has not been made, however, it stressed that on a purely legal basis there are no grounds for delaying the handover. Soviet troops are, after all, on German territory "as legitimately as the U.S. troops, which recently sent men who didn't want to go, to the Gulf war in manacles." Explanations given by the Bundeswehr "Eastern" Command law department were couched in roughly the same terms. They clearly say that in accordance with the terms of the treaty on conditions for the temporary presence and planned withdrawal of Soviet troops from FRG territory (Article 19 and Article 13 of Appendix 4) the German authorities are obliged to hand over deserters to the Soviet side.

I must add here that one of the Germans' most widespread arguments against handing over the fugitives is

their assertion that on their return they will all, supposedly, be threatened either with the death penalty or 20-year imprisonment. But, as is well known, under Soviet law (Article 247 of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Criminal Code), desertion is punishable by three to seven years' imprisonment, while the death penalty can only be applied in wartime. Incidentally, the military prosecutor from the Western Group of Forces provided detailed explanations on this question in BERLINER ZEITUNG quite recently.

Envoy to Germany Deposits Treeaty Document

PM1803140591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Balandin report: "Step Toward the New Europe"]

[Text] Bonn—The official ceremony at which USSR Ambassador Vladislav Terekhov deposited with the federal government the ratification document of the Treaty on the Final Settlement Regarding Germany was held at the FRG Foreign Ministry on Friday 15 March.

"With the delivery of this document the treaty comes into force for all four signatory states," the Soviet ambassador stated. "The final line has thereby been drawn under the 'postwar' settlement. United Germany becomes an equal and sovereign member of the world community. The operation of the four powers' rights and responsibilities regarding Berlin and Germany as a whole comes to a complete end."

The unification of Germany in a state with definitive borders has been deemed, as enshrined in the treaty, "a significant contribution to the cause of peace and stability in Europe." Participants in that most dreadful of wars have found the strength to overcome together the past that divided them and to open up a door to a better future.

V. Terekhov expressed the hope that the series of bilateral accords between the USSR and the FRG appended to the treaty of "the six," some of which have already been ratified, will be endorsed by the Soviet legislature in the very near future. It is important to do everything necessary to ensure that the positive potential of these treaties be fully realized.

FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher, who accepted the document, stressed in his speech in reply that the treaty constitutes the foundation document of the new Europe. The Bundestag is starting discussion of the first reading of treaties on good-neighborliness, partnership, cooperation, and the development of large-scale cooperation in the sphere of the economy, industry, science, and technology between the USSR and the FRG.

European Commission Sees Union Treaty's Importance

PM1503160191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 91 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting in Europarliament"]

[Text] Strasbourg, 13 Mar—In the course of the continuing visit of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities, a meeting has been held in the Europarliament with European Commission President J. Delors, it passed in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and frankness.

The commission president stated that the community is seeking to provide all manner of support for perestroyka in the USSR, while at the same time not interfering in its internal affairs. The community leadership attaches great significance to the draft of the new Union treaty and the forthcoming March 17 referendum.

Latin America & Caribbean

Diplomatic Ties To Be Established With Panama

LD1403194991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Mar 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] After talks which have continued for several decades an agreement has been reached at last on establishing diplomatic relations between the USSR and Panama at general consulate level.

Dominican Republic Restores Ties With USSR

LD1903154591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0725 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Kutikov]

[Text] Havana, 19 Mar (TASS)—The establishment of diplomatic relations with the USSR has been announced in the Dominican Republic. A decree to this effect was signed on Monday by Joaquin Balaguer, president of the Caribbean country.

The document does not propose that embassies be opened in Moscow and Santo Domingo. The interests of the Dominican Republic in the USSR will be represented by the Dominican ambassador in the FRG, and the interests of the Soviet Union by the USSR ambassador in Venezuela.

Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established in 1939. Twenty years later, during the administration of the Dominican Republic by the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, these ties were suspended. Their renewal reflects the normalization of relations between the USSR and the Caribbean state.

Laptev, Dzasokhov Meet Mexican Delegation

PM2003114991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 91 Moscow Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Intensive and fruitful Soviet-Mexican dialogue is successfully developing in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. Thus may be described the content of the 15 March meetings between I.D. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, A.S. Dzasokhov, chairman of the parliamentary International Affairs Committee, committee members, and a delegation from Mexico's National Congress. The delegation, headed by A. Martinez, chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission, is in our country on an official visit at the USSR Supreme Soviet's invitation.

The sides were united on the need for all-around strengthening of mutually useful ties between the legislatures, governments, and peoples of the Soviet Union and Mexico, which have maintained relations of friendship and cooperation for many decades now.

Supreme Soviet

19 March Session Discusses Cabinet Powers

LD1903201791

Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1852 GMT on 19 March begins a recorded account of the proceedings at the 19 March Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin. The session opens with Lukyanov in the chair.

Lukyanov outlines the agenda until the end of March; only one- third of the issues to be discussed has so far been dealt with.

At 1853 GMT Orlov, chairman of the referendum commission, gives the figures and data about the recent Union referendum. More than 136,000,000—more than 76 percent of those on the lists—took part in the referendum. He gives a breakdown of figures according to the various republics. Orlov says that citizens' rights were violated in some republics where the authorities failed to organize the voting properly. Snegur and Moldova are singled out for particular criticism as having violated the Soviet Constitution and human rights. All in all, the absolute majority of Soviet citizens voted in favor.

The presenter says that deputies then described their impressions from the voting in the localities. Following this the draft law on the Cabinet of Ministers is discussed.

At 1904 GMT Deputy Kalmykov outlines the draft law on the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, describing the work that has gone into it.

Kalmykov says that the draft law is now ready to be endorsed in the second reading. It is really two laws, he explains, the second law is that of the structure of the Cabinet of Ministers, to be reported on 28 March. The question of the structure of the Cabinet has turned out to be the most complicated and most difficult to resolve, he says. Article 4 which said that the Cabinet could exercise powers belonging to the Supreme Soviet has now been struck out. If the Supreme Soviet rejects the Cabinet's program, the question of the Cabinet's resignation can legitimately arise. The government must present its program within a certain timeframe, set by the Supreme Soviet. The parliament may, if it wishes, examine any given minister's suitability for his job if his poor performance warrants it. Interference in the work of the Cabinet is undesirable, if it is not in accordance with the rules and regulations. The Cabinet's powers have been expanded in the sphere of planning prioritizing and objective setting and labor. Deputy ministers will be appointed by the Cabinet at the minister's suggestion. Ministries and other central bodies must, as a rule, be reliant upon economic methods, thus facilitating further departure from the old command and administrative way of doing things.

The president will no longer be able to appoint additional Cabinet members to the Presidium, Kalmykov explains. Ministers can now be held criminally liable without prior consent of the Supreme Soviet, as has so far been the case. No country grants such immunity unless the minister in question also happens to be a member of parliament. Ministers cannot occupy other posts, unless these are in public associations, Kalmykov concludes.

At 1923 GMT questions to Kalmykov begin. The first one concerns procedures for a vote of no confidence in the government. We have the same norm in our standing orders already, says Kalmykov. Lukyanov adds that Article 130 of the Constitution will make things clear.

There is no need to have a Committee for Women and Family Affairs or a Committee for Youth within the structure of the Cabinet of Ministers, Kalmykov explains in answer to another question. Others have 20 ministries, we have 50 or 55, he says.

Another deputy asks how many times must the Cabinet report to parliament? Kalmykov explains that the Cabinet must report no less than once a year but more often if it so wishes. The Supreme Soviet can also ask the Cabinet to account for its actions; committees and commissions can ask for a vote of no confidence in the Cabinet or individual ministers.

The law on the Cabinet of Ministers is then adopted by 281 votes in favor and 37 votes against. Then the article-by-article debate began, the presenter says.

At 1931 GMT the announcer says that Pavlov delivered a report about price rises at a closed sitting.

The recording ends.

Orlov Reviews Poll

LD1903221591 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1845 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Statement by Vladimir Pavlovich Orlov, chairman of the commission on the all-union referendum, on all-union referendum voting results to the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin on 19 March; from the "At the USSR Supreme Soviet" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] It must be said that the voting in the republics where the supreme organs of power did not create the necessary conditions for carrying out the referendum and, in essence, did not fulfill the decision of the Supreme Soviet, took place in a complicated situation with violations of citizens' rights. You know the reports in the press, and we have had enough reports about this. According to the reports that have come in to our commission, use was made of direct threats and intimidation of citizens. Difficulties were created for ward commissions, including the blocking of the premises of the polling stations and even their destruction in a number of cases.

It cannot be said that no measures were taken concerning this. On behalf of the commission, I had to send a message to Snegur, president of Moldova, calling his attention to these shortcomings and disgraceful actions. Then, Comrade Lukyanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, sent a message to him. But, I must say that there was no final resolution. By the end of the voting on 17 March, virtually all of the polling stations in Kishinev had been closed; they had either been blocked or else it was impossible to work at them. All of this is in violation of our constitution, it runs contrary to it and it is a violation of human rights.

I must say that, as a result of these conditions, not all of the citizens who wished to participate in the voting received the opportunity to do so. Not all the citizens received this opportunity.

Comrade deputies, many of you on the eve of the referendum and on the day itself were in the localities, went out there, helped organize the work, and I would like, on behalf of the commission, to thank you for the help which you gave in the localities. [passage omitted covered by refs]

Procurator General Assesses Yeltsin Speech

LD1903155991 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—Soviet Procurator General Nikolay Trubin has sent to the Soviet parliament a statement giving legal evaluation to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's speech at a meeting with representatives of the Democratic Russia movement on March 9.

Trubin has analysed the speech at the request of several Soviet deputies.

The statement distributed in the Soviet parliament today, describes as groundless Yeltsin's remarks that prosecutors in the Russian Federation will take criminal actions against heads of regional councils, combining their duties with those of secretaries of Soviet Communist Party regional committees.

Referring to the Soviet Constitution, the Constitution of the Russian Federation, international legal acts and a decision by the Soviet constitutional compliance committee, Trubin noted that "there are no grounds to initiate any prosecution against heads of Councils of People's Deputies in connection with combining posts in political parties or to exert any pressure on them."

As for Yeltsin's call to "declare a war to the country's leadership" and similar statements, Trubin noted that "they cannot be treated as calls for overthrowing or changing the Soviet state and social system by force, as such a conclusion would contradict other statements in the speech, "suggesting that supreme and local power and managing bodies be reorganised by constitutional means."

Political & Social

Gorbachev Issues Decree on Retail Prices

PRAVDA Publishes Decree

PM2003102391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 91 Second Edition p 1

[Decree signed by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin, Moscow on 19 March: "Decree issued by President of USSR on Retail Prices Reform and the Social Protection of the Population"]

[Text] For the purpose of stabilizing the consumer market, boosting motivation for highly productive work, building up the production of consumer goods, and fighting against profiteering and the shadow economy, in order to fulfil the decisions of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and following the agreement reached by the USSR and the republics on conducting a common policy in the sphere of price formation and the social protection of the population, I decree:

1. In order to prevent an unfounded rise in prices and to maintain the stability of the all-union market, limits are to be set, uniform throughout the entire territory of the country, for raising state retail prices in accordance with the lists agreed with the republics for main foods and for non-food items that determine the standard of living of the population.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of the union republics are to insure the confirmation in the prescribed manner of the new state retail prices for the goods referred to and also of tariffs for passenger transportation by rail, air, and sea transport and also for communications services for the population, taking into account the agreed limits for their increase. Republics can establish lower prices for individual goods that are produced and consumed on their territory.

Republican and local bodies, enterprises and organizations are to revoke the operation of all prices established by them which exceed the maximum level of state retail price-list prices confirmed in accordance with the present decree. Exceeding the level of state price-list retail prices shall not be permitted in the future.

New state retail prices and tariffs shall be brought into effect beginning 2 April 1991.

All funds from raising state retail prices for bread and bakery products, flour, groats, macaroni products, milk and dairy produce, meat and fish, butter and vegetable oil, eggs, sugar, tea, salt, for goods for children, for common types of building materials and furniture, and also for other non-food goods according to lists that are being specified by the republics taking into account the

level of income of various social sections and groups of the population, are to be channelled into paying compensation to the population.

Current state retail prices are not to be raised for the folowing: medicines and products for medical purposes; coffee; fabrics made out of synthetic fibers and products made of them; footwear, fur, knitwear, hosiery, and toys made of synthetic materials; gasoline, kerosene, electric power, gas, coal, domestic fuel, and firewood which are supplied to the population; and also vodka.

In order to check the increase in prices, the subsidies for the prices of medicines, meat, dairy, and fish products and other socially significant consumer goods are to be partially maintained.

2. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of the union republics are to consistently implement the liberalization of retail prices, having continued with the agreed broadening of the range of consumer goods that are marketed in accordance with contract (free) prices and controlled prices, and to pursue a joint policy of holding back monopolistic increases in prices through the removal of excessive profits and introduction of limits to price increases.

3. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the organs of power of the union republics are to insure the monitoring of compliance with the set procedure for price formation, and hold accountable enterprises, organizations, and officials violating price discipline.

4. The population is to be compensated for additional expenditures connected with the rise in retail prices and tariffs, based on the actual consumption by the population of goods and services from state resources in 1990, by means of raising wages, pensions, benefits and grants and also through introducing compensatory payments to children and dependants incapable of working.

These payments are not taxable. Part of the proceeds from the raising of prices and tariffs is to be channelled by special allocation into raising the pay of staff in the leading professions in the system of education, health care, social security, culture and archive institutions.

State guarantees of the minimal amounts and the general procedure for raising the income indicated are determined by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers in a differentiated manner according to groups of the population. Specific amounts and the procedure for compensation payments taking account of regional living conditions and the structure of consumption are determined by the union republics.

Compensation payments are to be effected in advance, before the new prices are introduced, from 20 March this year.

To this end:

The pay of the staff of state enterprises and organizations, labor remuneration on collective farms, and also pensions, grants, benefits and other social payments are to be increased, based on the amount of the compensation for price rises for the corresponding categories of citizens;

The compensations are to be paid to workers during the initial period in the form of special additions to pay, with subsequent inclusion in rates of pay and official salary scales;

At the same time as the review of rates of pay and official salary scales, the amount of monthly pay and other income of citizens not liable to taxation is to be increased to R160 inclusive; the rates of income tax on citizens' income in excess of R160 a month are to be lowered; and also the rate of tax on the profits of enterprises and organizations is to be lowered to 35 percent;

Collective and cooperative enterprises and public organizations applying state rates and scales of pay are recommended to raise the remuneration of workers according to the procedure fixed for state enterprises;

Payments are to be made in compensation for the rise in price of children's goods, and are to be specifically designated for families with children;

The monetary standard expenditure on the maintenance of citizens in institutions in the social sphere—hospitals, boarding schools, homes for the aged and infirm, preschool and other institutions—is to be increased, ensuring the necessary social protection of this category of the population.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers is to draft and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet proposals on making amendments to the USSR law "On income tax on citizens of the USSR, foreign citizens, and stateless persons," and also to the USSR laws "On taxes on enterprises, associations and organizations" and "On the union budget for the year 1991."

The governments of the republics and the local soviets of people's deputies are to be recommended to supplement monetary compensation to the poorly provided for strata of the population with various types of social assistance—free meals, payment of bills for medicine and special-purpose goods for the aged and infirm, benefits in the use of urban and suburban transport, and so on.

5. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of the republics are to set up a single union-republican financial fund of social support to the population, using some of the funds obtained from the rise in retail prices, in order to secure the fixed minimum compensatory payments to the population in all republics, and also to servicemen and other citizens receiving incomes from the funds of the union budget.

6. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the union-republic foreign currency committee, and the governments of the republics are to ensure unconditional fulfillment of measures to create conditions for successful implementation

of the reform of retail prices and social protection of the population, primarily bearing in mind the implementation of measures envisaged by the economic agreements on supplies of food and other material resources in 1991. The USSR State bank and the banks of the republics are to ensure the accumulation of the necessary quantity of banknotes for the compensatory payments to the population.

7. We deem necessary the realization of the measures for compensating the holders of deposits in and certificates of the USSR savings bank and state securities for the losses resulting from the one-off increase in the retail prices.

8. We shall develop a mechanism for indexing the incomes of the population in connection with the liberalization of retail prices controlled by the state. To this end, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers is, within a week's time, to present the drafts of the legislative acts on the question of indexing the incomes of the population and the general principles for establishing the minimal consumer budget.

[Signed] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev
Kremlin, Moscow 19 March 1991

Pavlov Discusses Decree

LD1903220791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 91

[USSR Prime Minister Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov interviewed by correspondent O. Bobin in Moscow on 19 March; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Bobin] Valentin Sergeyevich, the presidential decree on retail price reform and social protection for the population is coming into effect. Where does its economic strength lie?

[Pavlov] I think that the issue of retail price reform is, in essence, one of the most important stages of a whole gamut of problems of price reform, mainly as a condition for the transition to the market. There simply can be no market without reform of pricing, as you understand. So today we cannot undo all those knots that are standing in the way of increasing the production of goods for the population. The fact that not a single producer, not a single enterprise either wants to or—from the economic point of view—can produce goods at a loss is, it seems, obvious to the majority today. But owing to the distortion of our price system and the system of pricing, the extent of this loss-making has overstepped economically permissible boundaries, since our subsidies today—that is the difference between the price at which the commodity is being sold to the population and its real production cost in the form of the salary paid—already exceed 225 billion rubles per year. Therefore, given such starting points, we cannot effectively stimulate highly qualified intensive labor by economic means, through pay. So the main task of the reform of pricing is to remove these extraneous features and accumulations.

[Bobin] Valentin Sergeyevich, this decree has been signed by the president, but this work was conducted beforehand and with the consent of all republics.

[Pavlov] The agreement signed today, essentially by the top officials of all union republics, by top leaders, gives us grounds to assume that in this case we will implement this measure without any serious contradictions, so to speak, or misunderstandings, I would say.

[Bobin] This decree concerns literally everybody and now everybody has the following question, naturally: When and in what form can they get this compensation?

[Pavlov] More than once has the government confirmed that compensation, as the main condition of the fact that the pricing reform does not pursue any confiscatory goals, must be implemented ahead of the retail price increase. But a state of affairs has now taken shape in which in many cases—and we are justly reproached for this today—pricing reform has started spontaneously in the localities. This is shown by an increase of retail prices under various pretexts; at the same time, however, compensation for the population is lagging behind. And that is why today we are starting with compensation and not with price rises. It is especially important that prices are being increased not in relation to those that are current today but in relation to those that were put on the price list approved at one time by union and union republican state committees for prices and which very often, when mentioned, evoke nothing but an ironic smile because the population has not seen such prices on the counters for a very long time now. People will be able to receive compensation, we think, precisely where they receive their main income today, that is, at the place of work, at the post office, at the savings bank and at the social security department. That is, we believe that the whole system of the organization of compensation payment should be brought as close as possible to the procedure which the individual has gotten used to.

[Bobin] What about the amount of these compensations?

[Pavlov] We are heading for an increase in the population's monetary income by 60 rubles per person, on the average, although we regard this as, basically, a minimum. And if collectives earn money, something we aspire to...we aspire to create conditions for this, then collectives themselves can determine a higher level of increasing the remuneration and other monetary income of members of their collectives, and in this sense they themselves will adopt decisions. But minimum levels of compensation are guaranteed in accordance with the decree.

[Bobin] Valentin Sergeyevich, we do not have another way to make our economy healthier, do we?

[Pavlov] You know, we do not have another way of making the economy healthier apart from raising the economy's efficiency by changing the structure in favour

of increasing the production of goods for the population. This is one way, and the other is to cut down on production costs.

Bakatin, Others on Meeting With Gorbachev

LD1903233291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Interview with Amon Gumirovich Tuleyev, chairman of the Kemerovo Oblast Soviet, and Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, member of the Security Council, by V. Suntsov, following their meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev on 19 March; place not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Suntsov] Amon Gumirovich, what is the situation like in the oblast today?

[Tuleyev] The situation is extremely complex. We have 101 coal enterprises, and 48 are now idle to some extent. Some are loading and some are completely at a standstill. The mode of operation is being maintained so that pits do not come to a full halt. You see, if it is not dispatched and not extracted, coal halts the whole country. Even in the Kuzbass itself, the Kuzbass itself, right now, coking and chemical production facilities and metallurgical combines are on the verge of coming to a halt, and this, you see, will put them out of action for a long time—that is, this may be a dreadful calamity and, moreover, it is now only a matter of hours and not days.

[Suntsov] From the point of view of the results of the meeting, in your view are there any kind of prospects for solving the social problems that have come to a head in the oblast?

[Tuleyev] I think that we put forward a block of very good economic measures and if they are indeed implemented rapidly, then this will be a big push forward, and the main thing, a fast push forward. We only need to act more quickly, and the main thing, to work, and not stand idle as we are now.

[Suntsov] Vadim Viktorovich, the striking miners are also putting forward political demands, alongside economic demands. From that point of view, what did the meeting show? What are the results?

[Bakatin] No kind of dictate is acceptable for a conversation with the president, and undoubtedly the president could not act in any other way. He rejected all the political demands. He himself cannot violate the law and the Constitution, and this will probably not allow anyone, even if it is the action let's say of such respected collectives in the country as the miners' collectives, and even if it is done at the instigation of let's say some kind of deputies' group. Therefore these demands were undoubtedly turned down, and it seems to me here that the aims of introducing some kind of tension, of introducing some king of chaos, in the final analysis, now, when in our country we already have many complications, very many complications. Additionally, these moves simply paralyze the entire economy, paralyze all social life—for the sake of what? What are the goals? Do the means always justify these goals? It seems to me they do not.

I think, of course, that we have to hope for common sense and reason. But all those very sensible and very interesting questions concerning the perfection of the economy in the sense of giving freedom to the labor collective, the resolving of problems connected with rayon coefficients, problems connected let's say with the fact that this differentiated income tax today does not entirely—or to put it bluntly, does not at all suit miners' high pay—these problems and other problems were all reviewed very objectively and in detail, and instructions have been given to the minister; instructions have been given to the prime minister, and I hope that the matter will be resolved.

Price Committee Chairman on Price Reform

LD1903203991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1612 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Interview with Vyacheslav Konstantinovich Senchagov, chairman of the USSR State Price Committee, by N. Chernyshova; place and date not given; from the "Topical Interview" program—recorded]

[Text] [Chernyshova] Vyacheslav Konstantinovich, I cannot refrain from starting off with a very well-known statement: the price reform that has been talked about for so long, well, let's put it like this, by all known economists and the government, will at last come into effect on 2 April. I would like you, nevertheless, to start with enumerating the causes that have made the price rises necessary.

[Senchagov] The first cause, of course, and the principal one, is the fact that today prices have lost any relative content, any content, and do not reflect the real cost of production and trade. The state is artificially supporting prices through colossal subsidies. Where are subsidies taken from? In the final analysis these subsidies are also taken from our joint national revenue, so to speak, our joint kitty. One way or another they are a burden on the individual. The result of this is that it is better to have real prices than these illusory prices.

[Chernyshova] Retail prices, on the one hand, balance supply and demand. On the other hand, however, they are also designed to stimulate work, a requirement for work. Do you believe that the rise in prices will fulfill these tasks?

[Senchagov] Well, you are right in what you say, and we see the principal advantage of the new prices is that they will raise work motivation. Of course, a producer is someone who is afflicted by egoism—this must be borne in mind. He frequently seeks to resolve all his financial problems through prices. Unfortunately, this is a disease. Why does it occur? The market is not developed. None

of the market structures are developed. It is an uncivilized market. Producers' discipline itself does not exist. Therefore there is no competition. No one is pushing him. Nevertheless, I hope—and I do not merely hope, this hope is based on a system of calculations, on the work of a huge collective—that these prices will create better incentives for strenuous, highly productive work.

[Chernyshova] You spoke of subsidies. Are goods left over today which the state will, nevertheless, subsidize?

[Senchagov] Yes, a number of goods regarded as important by the public, the essential goods, remain intact, along with medicines. Here we wanted - and this question was discussed—to increase prices for medicines, all of them, all the more so because the black market prices of medicines have gone berserk. All the same, we have, to begin with, decided to preserve subsidies. All the republics came out in favor of this approach.

[Chernyshova] The new increase in prices—the state increase—will it as a result come to be reflected in contractual prices? After all, we base our increases upward of the state prices at which no one buys things any longer. They do not exist in real life.

[Senchagov] Well, I would not say that they do not exist; state prices do exist and it is necessary to have a correct understanding of what contractual prices are meant here. You know that since 15 November a considerable proportion of goods have been on sale at free prices. Well, these are not essential goods—let me recall that these are jewellery articles, carpets, radio equipment of very good quality, one can say. We are now thinking, the decision that has been adopted, the presidential decree, and, I stress, the agreement with the republics alike provide for a step-by-step expansion of free prices, with the limit of up to 30 percent. This is combined, I stress, with what is, after all, a very strict system of control. That is why I would like to say here: In the first place, new prices relative to the existing price lists rather than relative to the contractual prices, are being introduced.

[Chernyshova] Can we now give some of the prices for basic products, such as meat, milk, sugar, or eggs?

[Senchagov] Of course we can, and I am prepared to give them. Top category, top grade beef will cost 7 rubles [R].

[Unidentified female voice off-screen] Beef will cost R7, mutton R6, pork R5.30, milk 50 kopeks per liter, cottage cheese R2, butter from R8.80 for Krestyanskoye brand to R12 for Vologodskoye brand, hard cheese R6.40 eggs from R1.80 to R2.60, pike-perch fish R3, perch fish R2.40, cod fish R2.20, flour R1.40, buckwheat R1.68, rice R2.72, millet R1, macaroni from R1.20 to R1.68, sugar R2.20, black bread 60 kopeks; the 13-kopek long loaf will cost 40 kopeks and the 25-kopek long loaf will cost 60 kopeks. Prices for special kinds of bread, vegetables, and fruit will be free.

[Senchagov] I think that this confusion with prices will calm down some day when it becomes clear how much things cost today. In other words, new prices will be introduced and the procedure will be established—as was the case before, incidentally—depending on which products will be sold at state prices in state shops.

[Chernyshova] I would like to ask several questions related to the protection of our people. Pensioners and invalids are our most unprotected stratum.

[Senchagov] Compensation will be envisaged for both pensioners and invalids; that is, this is...

[Chernyshova, interrupting] Compensation in general...

[Senchagov, interrupting] ...Greater compensation. Well, it is relatively greater than for someone who is working. If the minimum for a worker comes to R60, then for pensioners it is R65. Now, you are right in talking about invalids who stood, let's suppose, in line to receive certain goods. Here it is recommended to republics that, along with monetary compensation, they should implement all manner of natural compensation. For this they should reserve a certain portion of resources and from this reserve they should purchase goods and support this category.

[Chernyshova] Now students: What will the minimum grant be?

[Senchagov] Students—R120.

[Unidentified female voice, off screen] Students at higher educational establishments will R120; students at technical colleges R100; and students at vocational technical colleges R80.

[Chernyshova] (?Vyacheslav) Konstantinovich, what about travelling allowances? At the moment they're R3.50.

[Senchagov] I think it is envisaged that travelling allowances too will be reviewed, taking into account the real costs, so to speak, of the concrete type of goods.

[Chernyshova] The last concrete question: Many people are worried at the moment about their deposits in savings books.

[Senchagov] There will also be compensation to depositors through taking into account the dynamics of prices. That is, an increase in prices will be taken into account for all depositors.

[Chernyshova] On all deposits and all sums?

[Senchagov] On all deposits and all sums.

[Chernyshova] We are talking just now about the liberation of prices. The most important price, however, is not being liberalized—the price of work.

[Senchagov] You are asking me a very good question, but we have in fact not frozen it. After all, we envisage compensation. To establish order, all initial compensation will be paid on the basis of a certain payroll so that

no one is lost or gets hurt. Further compensation should already be included in a tariff system. Any administrative restrictions on salaries are being lifted; that is, the mechanism of pay formation becomes more flexible and adjusted to the conditions of a given enterprise. At the moment, when prices are introduced everyone will understand that the day has arrived, at last, and they will ponder how they should run their lives from then on, what to buy and what not to buy. All in all, an improvement will come at a certain moment and it is important to consolidate that stimulus, that turning point of sorts in people's feelings. One can consolidate it by only one means—by increasing the production of goods, expanding their range, and so on. We have never carried out such a revolution in prices before. We have carried out many revolutions and so on but not of that kind. Indeed, many elements are being forecast and inspire one with the confidence that there will be change for the better, but further steps, further steps are needed. What steps? They constitute part of the economic reform, so to speak of the great sum total.

Agreement With Republics on Price Reform

PM2003104991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

["Agreement of the USSR and the Republics on Questions of the Reform of Retail Prices and the Social Protection of the Population"]

[Text] The USSR president and leaders of the republics' highest organs of power, proceeding from the need to stabilize the consumer market, strengthen the motivation for highly productive labor, increase the production of consumer goods, and combat speculation and the shadow economy, and guided strictly by the agreement reached earlier on the implementation of a common policy in the sphere of pricing and the social protection of the population, have agreed on the following:

1. With a view to maintaining the stability of the unionwide market and preventing an unjustified growth in prices, uniform ceilings are to be set over the country's entire territory on increases in state retail prices for basic food and nonfood goods that determine the population's living standard.

Agreed proposals are to be adopted by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and republic governments on the upper limits on increases from 1991 in state retail prices for consumer goods and also in tariffs for passenger journeys by rail, air, and sea transportation and for communications services to the population, in accordance with Appendix No. 1.

Republics may set lower prices for individual goods produced and consumed on their own territory.

There is to be no increase in retail prices for medicines and medical products; coffee; synthetic textiles and products made from them; footwear, fur and knitwear products, hosiery, and toys manufactured from synthetic materials; gasoline, kerosene, electricity, gas, coal, solid fuel, and firewood released to the population; and vodka.

In order to restrain price increases, subsidies are to be partially retained for 1991 on medical supplies; meat, dairy, and fish products; and certain other socially significant consumer goods.

2. The derestriction of retail prices is to proceed progressively, and the list of goods sold at contract (free) and regulated prices is to be extended from 1991, in accordance with Appendixes Nos. 2 and 3. A common policy is to be pursued to restrain monopoly price increases, by means of expropriating superprofits and imposing ceilings on price increases.

A system of indexation of the population's income is to be formulated and introduced.

3. Compensation is to be implemented in compliance with the following basic principles:

channeling into compensation all funds derived from increased prices for basic food goods and mass types of construction materials and furniture, as well as other nonfood goods, on the basis of lists determined by the republics, taking into account the income levels of various social strata and population groups;

paying full compensation for increased prices for children's goods, with appropriate funds being targeted toward families with underage children;

determining the size of compensation payments on the basis of the population's actual consumption of goods and services from state resources in 1990;

making the first compensation payments in advance of the introduction of new retail prices;

targeting a proportion of the funds derived from increased prices and tariffs toward an additional increase in wage levels for workers pursuing professions in the sphere of education, health and social security, culture, and archive institutions;

supplementing monetary compensation for poorly off strata of the population with various types of aid (including aid in kind) provided locally (free meals, the payment of bills for products specially designed for the disabled and elderly, concessions on the use of urban and suburban transportation, and so forth);

introducing increased normatives for the maintenance of citizens in institutions in the social sphere (hospitals, boarding schools, homes for the elderly, and preschool and other institutions).

4. With a view to implementing the aforesaid principles:

during the initial period, compensation is to be paid to working people in the form of special supplementary payments on top of wages, which will subsequently be incorporated in wage rates and salaries;

grants, pensions, allowances, and other social payments are to be increased, and compensation payments introduced for children and other dependents not capable of working;

compensation payments are not to be subject to any form of taxation;

the minimum level of citizens' tax-free income is to be increased, as well as the level of income at which the imposition of progressive income tax begins;

the rate of tax on profits from enterprises and organizations is to be reduced to 35 percent, and at the same time amendments are to be made to profit taxation rates regulated by republic and local legislation.

The republics determine the specific procedure for and size of compensation payments, which must be no lower than the guaranteed minimums set by the USSR Government for the increase in the incomes of the relevant population groups and social strata.

The USSR Government prepares and submits to the USSR Supreme Soviet proposals on amending USSR legislation, and, within the limits of its powers, adopts decisions on normative acts realizing in concrete form the compensation principles set forth above; and lays down the procedure for and size of monetary and material allowances for servicemen and workers under the USSR Defense Ministry, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the USSR KGB and the monetary incomes of other centralized consumers, as well as compensation for increased tariffs for passenger journeys by rail, air, and sea transportation.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the republic governments are to form a joint union-republic financial fund for social support for the population, funded out of part of the resources derived from increased retail prices, in order to ensure the established minimum compensation payments to the population in all republics.

The USSR Gosbank [State Bank] and the USSR Savings Bank are to draw up and submit to the USSR Cabinet of Ministers proposals to compensate investors for losses arising from the one-shot increase in prices.

5. Organs of power of the USSR and the republics will ensure strict compliance by all enterprises and organizations with the procedure laid down for 1991 for forming the wage fund taking into account changes in the volume of output, operations, and services. The republics pledge to refrain from adopting any new decisions in 1991 on increasing the population's monetary income other than in connection with price compensation and will also implement measures to step up monitoring of compliance with the established pricing procedure.

6. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the union-republic currency committee, and the republic governments are to ensure the unconditional implementation of measures to create the conditions for successfully carrying out the reform of retail prices and tariffs, with a view first and foremost to implementing the measures stipulated in the economic agreement on deliveries of food and other material resources in 1991. The USSR Gosbank and the republics' banks are to ensure the existence of the necessary quantity of bank notes for compensation payments to the population.

7. Taking into account that the proposed reform of retail prices is to take place as one element of a comprehensive program for the transition to the market, practical actions to ensure its joint implementation are to be determined within a month.

M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR
R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet
L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet
N.I. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet
I.A. Karimov, president of the Uzbek SSR
N.A. Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR
T.I. Sigua, chairman of the government of the Republic of Georgia
A.N. Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan SSR
M.I. Snegur, president of the Moldova SSR
A.A. Akayev, president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan
K.M. Makhkamov, president of the Tajik SSR
L.A. Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Republic of Armenia Supreme Soviet
S.A. Niyazov, president of the Turkmen SSR.

Appendix Defines Price Increases

PM2003113991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

["Appendix No. 1 to the Agreement of the USSR and the Republics": "Maximum Increases of State Retail Prices of Basic Consumer Goods"]

[Text]

	average (percent)
Meat and meat products	200
Milk and dairy products	130
Eggs and egg products	100
Bread, flour, groats, and pasta	200
Sugar	135
Tea	100
Fish commodities	30
Salt	240
Vegetable oil, margarine and mayonnaise,household and toilet soap	100
Food concentrates, including baby food	200
Certain domestically-produced tobacco products	50
Underwear, popular types of fabrics, clothing,and footwear	135
Goods for children	195
Cultural, consumer, and household goods	75
Passenger transport tariffs:	
Rail	70
Air	80
Sea	140
Consumer communications services	20

Notes:
1. The specific retail prices are set by the USSR State Committee on Prices and union republic pricing organs in accordance with on their jurisdiction.
2. The specific tariffs are set by the USSR Ministry of Railways, USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, and USSR Ministry of Communications by agreement with the USSR State Committee on Prices.

Regulated Prices List

PM2003114191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

["Appendix No. 2 to the Agreement of the USSR and the Republics": "List of Consumer Goods To Be Sold to the Population at Regulated Retail Prices"]

[Text]

Light Industry Products
New fashion fabrics, woven and knitted cloth, and also high-quality goods for children;
Collars for adults made from rabbit fur, sheepskin, astrakhan, and other types of fur (except valuable types);
Headwear for adults made from rabbit fur and sheepskin.
Cultural, Consumer, and Household Goods [subtitle]
Passenger cars;
Timber, lumber, and construction materials;
School exercise books and stationery for children;
Road bicycles for adolescents and children;
Baby carriages;
Children's toys;
Matches;
Washing machines with manually operated wringer;
Refrigerators with a capacity of up to 250 liters;
Category 3 and 4 radio sets and sound-recording and sound-reproduction equipment;
Monochrome television sets;
Second- and third-generation television sets;
Straight-stitch sewing machines;
Synthetic detergents;
Gas and electric stoves;
Slide projectors, slides, and other movie and photographbic goods for children;
Phonograph records for children;
Power sources (batteries);
Books and book products;
Furniture (individual items of furniture—tables, chairs, sofas, beds, and other items that are not part of suites and sets);
Wallpaper;
Enamel and aluminum ware;
Knitting machines;
Utensils made from clear glass, blown and molded;
China and earthenware;
Standard houses and garden sheds, kits;
Agricultural minitractors, power units, and motorized cultivators;
Household tools;
Local construction materials
Wine, including champagne;
Ordinary brandy;
Vodka and liqueurs;
Beer;
Perfume products;
Caramel;
Tropical fruits, citrus fruits, and products made from them.

Note:
Union republics' governments can augment and refine the above list within the scope of their jurisdiction.

Funding Arrangements Detailed

PM2003104791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

["Protocol on Some Measures To Realize the Agreement of the USSR and the Republics on Questions of the Reform of Retail Prices and the Population's Social Protection" dated 12 March 1991]

[Text] In fulfillment of the agreement of the USSR and the republics on questions of the reform of retail prices and the population's social protection, the USSR prime minister and the republics' heads of government have decided:

1. To introduce new retail prices and tariffs throughout the territory of the USSR, as of 2 April 1991, within agreed limits; to begin the anticipatory payment of compensation to the population 20 March 1991.

2. In 1991 the following funds are channeled into forming a unified Union-republic financial fund for social support for the population to ensure the set minimum compensation payments by:

	billion rubles
The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]	56.5 (footnote)
The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]	12.1 (footnote)
The Belorussian SSR	4.2 (footnote)
The Republic of Georgia	0.5
The Lithuanian Republic	2.3
The SSR of Moldova	1.1
The Latvian Republic	2.2
The Republic of Armenia	1.3
The Estonian Republic	1.7

The funds are provided by the republics in equal monthly installments.
3. To allocate the following funds (in billions of rubles) from the unified Union-republic financial fund for social support for the population to ensure the set minimum compensation payments to:

The Uzbek SSR	6.8
The Kazakh SSR	2.46 (footnote)
The Azerbaijan SSR	1.15
The Republic of Kyrgyzstan	1.11
The Tajik SSR	2.08
The Turkmen SSR	2.04
Statewide consumers	66.4 (footnote)

4. To deem it expedient to give financial support from the all-Union and republic economic stabilization funds, in necessary cases, to individual enterprises that sell output mainly at fixed prices.

Footnote

Figures to be determined more exactly within a three-day period by representatives of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and the USSR State Planning Committee.
V. Pavlov, prime minister of the USSR
I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers
A. Statinov, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers
V. Kebich, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers
Sh. Mirsaidov, vice president of the Uzbek SSR
U. Karamanov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers
N. Isanov, prime minister of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan
K. Makhkamov, president of the Tajik SSR
A. Charyyev, first deputy prime minister of the Turkmen SSR.

Price Increases, Compensation Reviewed

PM2003095191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 91 p 1

[Ye. Anisimov report: "2 April: Battle of Price Lists Looms"]

[Text]

	Price in Rubles [R]	
	Before	In Future
Beef (1 kg)	2	7
Milk (1 liter)	0.36	0.50
Sugar (1 kg)	0.94	2
Bread (1 loaf)	0.20	0.60
Coffee (1 kg)	20	20
Vodka (1 bottle)	10.50	10.50
Farmhouse Butter (1 kg)	3.60	8.80

So in the future we will all be receiving at least R60 a month more in our pay packets (and in our grants, pensions, and other kinds of regular payments). Taxes on enterprises will be reduced to 35 percent in order to ensure that they can increase pay out of their remaining resources without hindrance and to the extent they are able. Additionally, compensation payments for children are being brought in.

Well, this all sounds fine, now we will have to move to news that is far less pleasant. Price reform, which will lead to tears for many, begins effective 2 April.

Three price categories are envisaged: fixed state prices; contract prices with a "ceiling"; and free prices. The normative documents are ready and the new price lists have been sent to trading organizations, so things are under way and it is possible to forestall events slightly, as it were.

Basic foodstuffs will be covered by fixed state prices. With the exception of delicacies—which, in my view, makes for a sense of vagueness: Meat, cheese, and sausages of the widespread "dog's delight" variety are delicacies today for some people... There will be fixed prices for children's goods, transport shipments, and cultural and consumer goods in mass use. Coffee and vodka will remain at their former level. An upper limit will be set for the price of cars, televisions, wines and liqueurs, beer, timber, and woolens.

Free prices, dependent solely on supply and demand, will apply to goods which currently account for approximately 30 percent of retail trade turnover. This range of goods will gradually increase as we move from regulated prices to free prices.

The need for price reform is obvious to economists. The question for the specialists was merely the method and pace of its implementation. It is now clear that there will be no Polish-style "shock therapy." But this is probably the only thing that is clear. The pricing system, even when reformed, will not be able to provide enough incentives for state enterprises to develop production, and therefore the forecast situation in the consumer market provides little comfort: After a brief period in which the market will be saturated with goods (these will pour into the stores from warehouses where they had long been kept while waiting for new prices) the commodity vacuum will return, only at a different price level...

Polls Show Majority Support Gorbachev Decrees

PM2003135191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 91 First Edition p 3

[Report by A. Aleksandrov under the rubric "Sociologists Report": "Attitudes on the USSR President's Decrees"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences' Sociological Center conducted all-Union polls 18-25 February and 13-15 March on people's attitudes on the USSR president's decrees. The polls revealed the following picture of opinions (the figures are a percentage of those polled): Measures to ensure the struggle against economic sabotage and crime in the economic sphere are

supported by 68 percent, opposed by 20 percent, with 12 percent responding with a don't know. Collaboration between the militia and USSR Armed Forces subunits in ensuring law and order in the fight against crime is supported by 55 percent, opposed by 31 percent, with 14 percent don't knows. The attitude on the USSR president's activity aimed at preserving and renewing the USSR is that 53 percent approve, 30 percent disapprove, and 17 percent don't know. These judgments reflect the population's position with regard to the head of state's extraordinary measures. They show that the omnipotence of the black economy, crime against the individual, national separatism, and chauvinism are currently of acute concern to most people and are major causes of the growth in social tension in society.

Kryuchkov Views Terrorism, Domestic Issues

91UF0553A Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 27 Feb 91 p 5

[IMA-PRESS interview with Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR Committee on State Security, by journalist Oleg Moroz; place and date not given: "KGB-91"]

[Text] [Moroz] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, you said in one of your speeches that perhaps we should not push perestroyka so fast: "...should we not conduct a more fundamental evaluation of where we are now in our development? Perhaps, even stop at some points and, in any case, think carefully before we proceed." And then comes the phrase: "We need perestroyka," which actually reads: "of course, we need perestroyka, but..." Does not all of this mean that it is difficult for the KGB to find its place in these current times (I would compare it with riding a raft through rapids)?

[Kryuchkov] I never thought that my words would be interpreted as a proposal to slow perestroyka. Most likely, this happened because the phrase was taken out of context. I support perestroyka. And it is precisely concern about its pace and its future that make me an opponent of both hasty extremist decisions and fruitless zigzagging from one direction to another. I support scientific justification and careful calculation of the economic and political measures that are to be taken.

In order to successfully implement the envisioned reforms we need to move as quickly as possible from the power struggle between various groups to the consolidation of different social forces and movements on the socialist base; it is necessary to strive for a reasonable compromise. We need to transcend from a street, rally-based democracy to daily organizational work directed at overcoming our crisis and healing our society.

As to the rapids, we stay strictly in the mainstream of the interests of the state and the people, and sometimes we do encounter "rapids" along the way—the "rapids" of imperfect administrative, criminal, and other legislation and of prejudice towards the state security organs, including that of the mass media.

[Moroz] I have heard that the KGB has two personnel categories: the "children of the apparatus" and those "without kin." The former have all doors open to them; they effortlessly make their careers, but in reality they are ballast, people who know nothing and do not want to do anything. The latter are true professionals who, however, encounter obstacles every step of the way...

[Kryuchkov] Nothing is further from the truth. We have very strict selection criteria. Some time ago we accepted students in our schools from the age of 18, but later we decided to raise that age to 19-20, that is, to accept people who either had served in the Army or had work experience (this applies to everybody except physicists and mathematicians). Sometimes I get requests to accept someone into our ranks. Our policy, however, is that we thank them for the recommendation and then determine whether or not the person is suitable for us. We have never hired a son of some high-level official unless he fit some of our parameters. I do not recall such a case.

I can tell you about myself—I had nobody to prop me up. My father was a simple worker, and my mother a housewife. It is true that I worked with Yu. V. Andropov for a long time, but before that I graduated from two colleges. I "labored," as they say, from morning to night. I still work a lot. The same can be said about other members of the KGB leadership.

Our strict selection process starts with physical fitness. Eyesight, for instance. It is all right for physicists and mathematicians to wear glasses, but not any others. We have strict criteria in regard to hearing. And health in general.

When a young person is accepted into one of our schools, he must go through parachute jumps—first from a tower, and then from an airplane. Not everybody is capable of doing this. The same applies to "trial by tank": You sit in a trench, and a tank rolls over you—the earth around you starts moving. This is also a test of psychological resilience. If we are training somebody to work in special conditions, the tests there are even harder.

[Moroz] I have read that the KGB is poorly equipped in a technical sense; for instance, that until recently the personnel there have only seen computers on television. Is this true?

[Kryuchkov] Depending on what we use as a starting point. I believe that technologically we do lag behind similar special services in a number of capitalist countries. We do have the equipment, computer centers, and quite good analytical and information subunits; we are proud of them, but there are still quite a few difficulties. For instance, we are still waiting for the fourth generation of domestic computers, although as many as twenty years ago we were assured that we would be equipped with state-of- the-art Soviet computer technology and were advised not to buy the technology abroad. It is a good thing we did not listen to those advisers then!

[Moroz] As is known, last year there were massive crossings of the Soviet-Iranian border. In speaking on this topic, you mentioned once that the only way to prevent them would be with fire, and therefore the decision was made not to try to stop them. I welcome this with all my heart—at least in this instance there was no bloodshed. At the same time, I am frightened by this alternative: either do nothing or shoot. I am afraid that next time somebody will give the order to shoot (and they have already given it more than once!). At the same time, in the world as a whole there are relatively sparing, relatively humane methods—tear gas, water cannons, etc.—that are used in cases of mass unrest; we do not have to reinvent the wheel here.

I want to emphasize once again that I am not advocating the use of gas or fire hoses, and I would be happy if they were never used, but it is still better than using the bullets that seem to fly so easily in our Fatherland; it is better than entrenching tools and tank tracks... And what about the exceedingly stupid—and cruel in their stupidity—actions during the recapture of the plane hijacked by the Ovechkins (if you recall, the assault team opened fire at the passengers, and later brutally beat them as they escaped that hell and jumped to the surface of the air field from a considerable height...). One gets the impression that nobody in this country is seriously interested in conducting anti-extremist combat, when such need does arise, in a professional rather than a criminally amateurish manner. I realize that this question should be directed not only to you: among others, it should be asked of the minister of internal affairs and the minister of defense, but it is related to your business, too.

[Kryuchkov] Combating terrorism is an important direction of KGB activities. Our officers have already, more than once, demonstrated high professionalism in complicated extreme circumstances. Some operations have received considerable coverage, for instance, Operation Thunder, the freeing of hostages in Sukhumi, and some others. As to the Ovechkin operation, KGB personnel did not participate in it.

Recently our approach to solving this kind of problem has changed radically. Evidence of this is that same Operation Thunder. But in principle I can agree with you, there is a problem. Especially when Armed Forces units are brought in to establish order. No matter how we want it, sometimes it is just not possible to restore public order without the participation of the Army. This happens whenever there is large-scale unrest. The military is used in other countries as well, but they approach this problem somewhat differently. In a number of capitalist countries, for instance, there are special army contingents which are trained in methods of localizing unrest. For instance, the National Guard in the United States, or the Carabiniere corps in Italy. They are brought in when the special security forces—police, internal troops, etc.—are not enough. They do train in various forms and methods of dealing with unlawful actions. Among those methods, the use of arms is an extreme case. I think we should study this practice and use it domestically.

[Moroz] Could you tell some details of the Shmonov case—the man who did the shooting on Red Square on 7 November last year? What political forces were behind him? What did these shots mean?

[Kryuchkov] I think this topic needs to be put off until later. It appears that the interest in Shmonov's personality will immediately wane as soon as the medical and psychiatric experts are finished. This is a serious process, and it takes many months. So far, we know that he was under observation in one of the psychiatric clinics. And the doctors who dealt with him on a preliminary basis concluded that he needs such attention.

[Moroz] Does it mean that we are back to the tired story of madness?

[Kryuchkov] What can we do if the doctors come up with such a medical diagnosis? We are not specialists, we cannot argue with them.

There were no forces behind Shmonov. We have checked that out. For all his friends, relatives, and acquaintances his action was a total surprise.

[Moroz] My next question is not related directly to the KGB, but I would like you to answer it. There are many complaints lately about information supplied by TASS, but this started long ago. For instance, at last year's 4 February mass rally in Moscow one of the speakers said jokingly: "There are so many of us here, we are such a force, that we could go and storm the Kremlin or the Lubyanka" (I quote it from memory, not verbatim). Hundreds of thousands people heard this, it was recorded on tens of tape recorders, including—I have no doubt—your officers' tape recorders. Nevertheless, the next day TASS had the gall to maintain that it was meant seriously. Such an innocent twisting of facts. But TASS is not someone anonymous, spreading rumors and distorting the truth; it is a government information agency (by the way, at that time it was headed by the now rather celebrated L. Kravchenko, who is currently chief of the State Committee on Radio and Television). In your opinion, what is the purpose of such actions?

[Kryuchkov] The rally you are referring to attracted hundreds of thousands people. In its substance, it was a politically loaded event, and under such circumstances these kinds of "jokes" are simply inappropriate. It could have led to very grave consequences, as has, unfortunately, happened more than once during the past few years. Whenever there is a accumulation of human masses under extreme circumstances, emotions and feeling overcome reason and self-possession. Under such conditions, one careless word or slogan can make the situation unmanageable.

The electrified and tense atmosphere of that rally was described in the dispatches of many Western correspondents. Our press wrote about that, too. One can only regret that those who consider themselves democrats have resorted to this rhetoric, which is clearly not of

parliamentary type, believing that "the end justifies the means." Anyway, this is a matter of political culture.

As to the words you quoted, in searching for the truth I would look at them in the context of both the speech itself and the rally as a whole.

During the last few months there have been more incidents of turning quite serious political problems into "jokes." Remember the gallows displayed in front of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee building during certain events—it was later portrayed as an innocent hoax. In Armenia, however, such a joke "backfired" when participants in a rally on purely ecological issues were incited to start a pogrom of the republic KGB building.

[Moroz] When the government of K. Prunskiene was in the process of being formed by the Lithuanian Supreme Council, the candidates were unfailingly asked: "Have you ever collaborated with the KGB? How did such collaboration start and what was its nature?" The attitude towards a candidate depended a lot on the answer. What do you think about this?

[Kryuchkov] It is the constitutional duty of each person to ensure the security of the state. Therefore I believe that these questions that were asked while forming the republic's government were improper, to say the least. Besides, I think that in that situation the decisive factor was not the candidate's relationship with the state security organs, but his membership in the Sajudis and his adherence to the idea of Lithuania's secession from the USSR.

To what you said I can add the fact that there were appeals, made in the name of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, asking republic citizens not to assist the state security organs in carrying out their duties. Moreover, there were threats to punish those who would not stop assisting these organs. We heard something similar coming from one of the leaders of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. Except that he went so far as to propose passing a law that would stipulate severe punishment for state employees who cooperate with the KGB. This is the level of political thinking of a "statesman!"

The USSR Committee for State Security resolutely protested against the adoption of this anti-constitutional act in Lithuania, and against attempts to persecute Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] KGB officers, or to exert moral pressure on them, as well as attempts by certain circles to get them involved in illegal activities. The USSR KGB and its branch on the territory of Lithuania continue to carry out their duties.

[Moroz] Here is one more quote from your statements: "Law and truth have become the norm of our life." How should we then interpret the fact that Col. Ya. Karpovich, who revealed the truth about violations of the law by the KGB, was punished by you?

[Kryuchkov] I think that the aura of a martyr who suffered in his fight for the truth is not quite fitting in the case of Col. Ya. Karpovich (ret.). He was indeed punished—stripped of the decoration "Honor Member of State Security"—which, by the way, he did not value all that much. Ya.V. Karpovich violated the statute on not divulging professional secrets, and gave a biased description of the situation in the KGB in his public statements. That is why veteran chekists and members of the collective where he used to work appealed to the Committee leadership to strip Karpovich of this decoration.

In all countries, including those with highly developed democratic traditions, the state demands that members of intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies strictly observe the requirements of secrecy and clandestine operations. Without it, intelligence activities are meaningless. It should be noted that in a number of countries (the United States, Great Britain, France, the FRG, and others) the violation of secrecy acts by special services employees is punished especially harshly. Those fired for whatever reason are still subject to these rules. We have the same procedures in our country.

This is in regard to the part about the truth. As to the law, the State Security Committee now lives and operates in accordance with those legal norms that have not been repealed yet. For instance, the Statute on the KGB, adopted in 1959. Ya.V. Karpovich also acted in the past in accordance with the normative acts then in effect, and never doubted the legality of his actions: He admits it himself in the materials he published. Now "his eyes have opened," but he should not pretend that he is the only one. All of society, the party, the state, the KGB organs, have had a fresh look at its values. Both myself, as KGB chairman, and other KGB officers have many times expressed our view on the past activities of the security organs. Therefore I can repeat with full responsibility: Law and truth are the norm of the chekist life.

We need to strengthen the legal base of our activities, and we expect that the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will discuss the draft law on the USSR state security organs.

[Moroz] Now, the last quote from your statement: "We have drawn certain conclusions from the history of the organs, and we do not intend them to forget them in the future." Should this be understood that you have drawn conclusions from the illegal activities of Yagoda, Yezhov, Beriya, Abakumov, Merkulov, and so on, or do you also include the activities of the founder of our state security—Dzerzhinskiy?

It is known, for instance, that Dzerzhinskiy was an ardent supporter of concentration camps, and he demanded that people be sent there without a court sentence, as an administrative matter for "an unconscientious attitude towards duties, for laziness, for tardiness, etc." It was assumed that this and other features of

state terror would be temporary; however, we now know full well that they became a feature of our life for a long time.

I believe, together with many others, that Stalin's terror did not emerge out of nothing; its foundation was already laid in the very early period after October, by Dzerzhinskiy, among others. Do you agree with this?

[Kryuchkov] We have learned mostly positive lessons from Dzerzhinskiy's activities. We are proud to carry on his cause. Clearly, we are not inclined to canonize him. As many other leaders of that time, he made mistakes of the leftist-radical kind, but these mistakes were not the defining substance of his activities. You talk about concentration camps, whose use Dzerzhinskiy supported. But they were concentration camps in name only (soon they went by the name of forced labor camps). The population of those camps consisted of criminals who had committed non-aggravated felonies—small-time speculators, thieves, con men, bribe takers, prostitutes, etc., as well as employees of the old regime whom, in those circumstances, it was found necessary to isolate. The regime in such camps was rather mild: Many of those who were kept there worked in various offices, could move freely around the city, and only had to return to the camp to spend the night. I cannot agree with your contention that the foundation for Stalin's terror was laid soon after the revolution, and that Dzerzhinskiy was directly related to it. First, during the first seven months of its existence Soviet power did not use terror at all, and did not execute any political opponents. Only in the middle of 1918, because of the increased White Terror, did it start to use extraordinary measures in regard to its enemies. Second, one cannot equate the Red Terror of the civil war period and the terror of Stalin's time: The former was a way to strike back in a bitter class struggle; the latter an instrument to establish Stalin's personal power.

[Moroz] A few years ago, in the midst a big scandal, a ban was imposed on research into the perftoran [perftoranu] blood substitute—the so-called "blue blood." Until then research was going on successfully and even had a claim on the Lenin Prize. The inventor of perftoran, Professor F. Beloyartsev, committed suicide. However, recently A.P. Aleksandrov, former president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, told OGONEK magazine that you, the Committee for State Security, were both the sponsor of the development of "blue Blood" and the initiator of the witch hunt. How come?

[Kryuchkov] The KGB position on this issue had been distorted.. We did, indeed, inform the Academy of Sciences of the preparation based on perfluorocarbons [perftoruglerodov]. Among other things, we informed the Academy of Sciences leadership that the Committee for State Security had information pointing towards the negative effects of the perftoran preparation when it is introduced directly into a human body as a blood substitute. This had to be taken into account when sending it out for clinical testing, especially in children's hospitals. After we supplied our information, testing was temporarily suspended, and an inter-departmental commission was created to decide whether it was suitable for human testing. The State Security Committee did not render any advice to suspend research. The commission's conclusions did not contain recommendations to suspend research, either.

In the opinion of specialists, perftoran has an unquestionably positive effect when used as a preserving solution during organ transplants and open-heart surgery. As to its use as a blood substitute, this will require more detailed research. In any case, the last word here will not be that of the KGB.

Shatalin Views Current Political Situation

91UN0997A Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish
12 Feb 91 pp 15-16

[Article by Stanislav Shatalin, academician, and author of the "500 Days Program" to reform the USSR's economy, formerly a member of Gorbachev's presidential council: "I Want to Justify Myself to the People"]

[Text] The congresses of the Russian Communist Party, the 28th Congress of the CPSU, and its later plenums have generally experimentally confirmed the obvious theoretical hypothesis that radical change in the CPSU is impossible. The party, which was originally created as a special type of party intended for the revolutionary takeover of power (the Bolshevik wing), and for the authoritarian and monopolistic exercise of power, cannot be thoroughly reformed. But, by definition, as mathematicians would say, that is exactly what is essential.

Neither in truth do the Congresses of the Peoples Deputies offer grounds for optimism, especially the most recent one, which was almost identical to the "rebellion" of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

We are told that Christ overcame temptation three times while He was alone in the desert. That illustrates His greatness. With all of our civilian society in tatters, we live in a world of temptations and sacrileges, of deceptions and distorting mirrors. So that—and let us not have any illusions—not only do we not want, but it seems to me that we can no longer understand who we are, where we live, what we want and the interests we defend. The philosophy of looting, of social parasitism, of the distribution, of plunder and arbitrary partition, of the parvenu and of the plebeian have now become the alpha and the omega of our existence. We live in a world of individuals in decay, of uncontrolled passions, of contempt for our neighbors; a world which lacks understanding of the basic problems of the development of civilization and culture. In fact, we live outside of the culture. We have broken faith, we blaspheme, relying on the expectation that history will be deceived and rewritten to suit our whims. Christ was speaking of us when, as He was crucified, He uttered His heartrending: "Forgive them, Lord, for they know not what they do."

It is clear that the very profound crisis in which our society is plunged today did not begin in April 1985, nor did it start in the period of "stagnation." If we try to convince ourselves otherwise, we will once again fall into temptation. In trying to determine how we have ended up submerged in this trap and how to escape from it, we lose solid ground by naively thinking that this is possible within the framework of the existing political and social system. We have to understand clearly, since it is axiomatic, that the crisis began in October 1917. Without grasping this, we are doomed. Today there is still time to think things through; tomorrow it will be too late. People might object to this, saying that in such a case we should have sought the origins of the crisis in Belinski (a 19th century Russian materialist philosopher). That may be true, but I have no desire to venture into such historic depths.

In evaluating the October Revolution, the most dangerous thing is to slip into political and ideological vulgarity, into irresponsible and crude attempts to demand a sort of roll-call vote to pin the blame on those who are at fault. At first glance, this may seem objective, but in fact it is absolutely superficial and destructive, a scapegoating tactic. It is the course of universal vengeance. It has no historic foundation, and is only another temptation. Nor is it rational and useful to judge the October Revolution in terms of whether it was an error or a crime. It is more sensible to recognize calmly that it would have been better if it had not happened, and to deal with it constructively. Evil can be overcome only by good. Democrats, do not forget that!

I do not believe I am going to reveal any secret when I say that what we call the Great Socialist October Revolution, historians all over the world call "the October coup" or "Lenin's and Trotsky's October adventure." Of course, the problem is not a matter of names, but without names it would not be possible to make a more or less objective judgment about the event which, as it did take place, has brought us to a historic impasse, and not through egotistical ambition or because of the moral defects of its leaders. One may or may not agree with this statement. One may yell, stamp one's feet in rage, and throw stones at the person who makes this statement, but it is the truth, and truth, if we heed the proverb, is worth more than philosophy.

And the essence of this truth is that if the Bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head, had not believed in the worldwide permanent revolution, which for them was like the testament, the October Revolution would not have happened. That was the most difficult knot to unravel in the differences between the Social Revolutionaries and the opportunistic Social Democrats, and there lies the personal tragedy of some of those who were not their worst representatives. For Lenin, the historic mission of the Russian Social Democratic Party was that the October Revolution would give a boost to worldwide revolution. But that was a tragic error, and if we accept Talleyrand's statement, crime is not a mistake, but a mistake may a crime. The world's proletariat was not at all ready for the worldwide revolution. Plekhanov, Martov, and all of the Western social democrats attempted to persuade the Bolsheviks of this. Still less was the Russian proletariat ready. We need only recall the tragic meeting of Kropotkin and Plekhanov upon their return to Russia in 1917.

We must stop setting up taboos against a truly scientific analysis of the problem. If we do not clearly understand this, the socialist movement in our country will be forever doomed to failure. It is essential to realize that if we want the people, or at least a considerable part of the people, to continue to have some belief in the socialist option, we must make an honest and profound judgment about what October 1917 represents, and not adore it. Let us stop setting up idols. What is really true is that instead of a permanent revolution, our country got a permanent and total crisis of "distorted" socialism, in which formerly fraternal countries joined, and which have now been excommunicated, especially by the congresses and plenums of their "older brothers," the Russian Communists.

In the 28th Congress, I believe that Gorbachev made the last attempt to consolidate the CPSU, but unfortunately he failed in his attempt. And once Humpty Dumpty has been shattered, like love, he can not be put back together again.

It continues to surprise me a great deal, even though I understand the reasons for it, that we call ourselves a party with a socialist orientation and communist future, and proclaim our purpose of constructing democratic and humane socialism, without clearly defining either of these two concepts. This is because it is more comfortable politically. That is why I want to recall Marx's well known words: labelling a system is different from labelling merchandise; it often cheats both the buyer and the seller. But let the truth be told, many sellers have tried to sell rotten merchandise, and some buyers knew what they were buying. How can we estimate the cruel price our society has paid for its social planning mania?

I still consider myself a socialist, but socialism for me is:

1. Real political democracy grounded in a multiparty system, the interrelationship of the social institutions which make up civilian society, and an effective parliamentary opposition.

2. An economic system based on a truly multifaceted property system including, of course, private property, and free enterprise.

3. A progressive income tax, which for our country, now in poverty, should not be as severe as it is now, with an efficient system to provide social protections for the workers.

4. An effective environmental protection system.

For me, socialism for me is the cult of the person, the cult of the "I." If we do not understand this, we will ultimately perish. And as for the adjectives of "human face"

and "democratic," they are only platitudes, an attempt to salvage the superdeformed Stalinist socialism.

On the subject of the communist future, I will have the audacity to say that the society which is called communist has never existed, does not exist now, and will never exist. It is unnatural. Although the propensity of the Russian people—and in saying this I do not mean to offend any people—for scatological thought and faith in the millenium does make me think that perhaps communism will exist in 1,000 years. Maybe so. And it may be that at that time some one will also resolve the problem of theodicy. So let us leave some work to the generations to come after us. Whoever they may be, they will be more intelligent than we are, those who build, rebuild, and put an end to building communism. Because if they distribute on the basis of need, they will find themselves, like us, in a situation in which there is nothing left to distribute. And they may not have the capacity. So perhaps they too, if they are living under communism, will have to choose between a ration book or ration coupons. Will that be farce or tragedy?

In 1939, Fyodor Raskolnikov wrote his famous open letter to Stalin, which angrily criticized him for the massive repressions which were a true act of genocide against his own people. Raskolnikov hurled in his face the accusation that he had corrupted and sullied the souls of the Soviet people. I believe that Raskolnikov could not have imagined how broad and profound his view was, and what a long and prophetic reach his words would have. The gospels tell us that we have more to fear from those who destroy the soul than from those who destroy the body. I do not doubt that each of us, when we are alone, may wonder whether these words apply to us. But I think I am exaggerating somewhat when I say "each of us."

Television shows us that the degradation and the corruption of souls is still invincible. We continue, as before, to live with corrupted souls, and that is terrible. If we do not put an end to this, society will die. Now, are we going to continue helping Comrade Stalin, or are we going to try to be a little more sensible? Or on the contrary, are we once again going to prove right our, I believe, great poet, N. Nekrasov, when he spoke of us as "vandals, savage mobs of drunkards, masters of destruction, not of creation." Maybe another time we will lose the battle of Kalka (against the Mongol invasion) and we will begin to hope this will come to an end with us, with our own bloody internal warfare.

It is shameful and repugant to see the ultraskilliful methods used by our people's representatives and party delegates. It is impossible for a normal person not to be driven mad by modern political spectacles, which make the gladiators' combat appear to be a model of ethics and chivalry.

V. Guiliarovsky said: "Russia suffers from two misfortunes. Below, the powers of darkness, and above, the darkness of power." I doubt whether this profound observation will be of any use in our present situation. What we now have below is the ultrapowers of darkness, and above, the paralysis of power. But the most recent congresses make us think that all the levels of the powers of darkness may possibly be becoming integrated. All politicians should give serious thought to this, if they really do have the interests of the people above their own provincial political ambitions. And not just the politicians. In a word, we must put a straightforward end to all this collective violation of the people. Never in my life have I seen so much concentrated rancor as in our congresses.

But in the end, what is the social foundation which supports the CPSU, the governing party, as it is called now? The stereotypical answer is that the CPSU is the party of the workers. May God forgive me, and pardon me for the repetition, but not even Jesus Christ could unite all the Christians. What about the Donetsk miners who in their first congress publicly renounced the CPSU? And were they the only ones?

Let us say it clearly: the CPSU has never been the party of the workers (we only need remember Shliapnikov's "workers opposition"). It was never the representative of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it has always been a special type of party, the party of the "apparat" which led the militant masses, and myself included. In the name of the workers, we subjugated the workers themselves, we converted labor into forced labor, and we turned the system into a feudal slave-based empire, using the USSR's "conscript" class. We abolished the exploitation of man by man, but with great pleasure we continue to observe how the state of the workers, the peasants and the people's intellectuals superexploits first one group, then another, and so on.

The ecstatic applause of the room full of communists for Ivan Polozkov, for whom the conviction of the truth of Marxism-Leninism takes precedence over the need to feed and clothe our miserable and almost starving people, is disgraceful. We should be ashamed of Belov, the theoretical-ideological firebrand of the Russian Communist Party, who urges everyone to sober up, and to dispel the queasiness caused by drunkenness, offers the rotgut of his domestic communism. I feel ashamed myself.

I am quite certain that the reader will ask why Shatalin has been wasting his time repeating all these truths, which have already been said over and over again. I am doing this with the simple intention of preventing, at least myself, from once again falling into the temptation of doing something without changing anything.

The latest events in the country are a warning signal alerting us to the catastrophe which is drawing near, and it is also another temptation. Once again we want to solve the unsolvable problem of squaring the circle, the erroneous and superficial evaluation of the situation in April 1985, in terms of "distorted socialism." This leads us to adopt the course of applying cosmetics to the

system, using acceleration and the scientific-technical revolution. When that strategy fails, socialism with a human face, democratic socialism without private property, without the exploitation of man by man, without alienation from the product are urged. We again apply another layer of cosmetics, and ... now the edge of the precipice appears.

We are facing an absolute shortage of absolutely everything, except words, and the 4th Congress of the People's Deputies has attempted to bridge the gap over the precipice in two leaps. My God, how many times has this been tried in Russian history! Hegel was right when he said that the fundamental lesson people learn from history is that they learn nothing from it. So, the study of the origins of Russian communism is not, by any means, an academic competition in mental acuity.

We have remained remote from the people, and we have been stopped by historic materialism, which has demonstrated more than convincingly that capitalistic market economies have planted a resounding knockout punch on planned socialist economies. I think that not even in delirium would Marx have envisioned socialist markets with shelves full of nothing, and he himself would anathematize his quasi-Hegelian reasonings about mercantile fetishism. But obviously Torquemada and Ignacio de Loyola had not yet appeared.

How careless we must be with our own people to be talking about their socialist choice and their communist future, instead of producing merchandise and processing it into "fetishes." After this I do not believe it is necessary to explain the reason behind the rejection, supported with jubilation by people both above and below, of the "500 Days Program." In this situation, not even "The Thousand and One Nights" would help. The interests of the instincts of conservatism and of subjection to authority are again placed above the interests of the people.

The 4th Congress of the People's Deputies did not even touch on the issue of how to emerge from the extremely deep economic crisis and from the total collapse of the economy, although it did discuss the issue of power, with the obvious widepsread shift to the right as a backdrop.

The reason for what has happened requires a separate analysis. It may be that the actors did not understand what the director wanted of them, or that the director succeeded in producing an artistic failure, or...I do not know all the variants. Society, if it is not driven by hunger and cold, wants to return to lethargy, and be contented with its very famliar style of living like animals.

Once again, ethnic relations in democracy have suffered a crude, but premeditated blow. There has already been too much talk about the devastation of the economy, but are the people to whom the president of the USSR wants to entrust the restoration work good enough? Does he think that the team which allowed this very harsh blow to happen will have the incentive and the courage to correct the situation, or does he think he may be able to win the world soccer championship with a replacement team?

The referee has reached the count of nine, and the bell has already rung. The Politburo has again begun to remind us who the real boss in the country is, but will this not be a Pyrrhic victory?

Deputies, reflect and think whether you should not return for a new special congress. What is supposed to be "the transition to the market economy" is a natural suicide, it is an attempt to navigate without a rudder or sails.

I doubt whether ever before in the history of Russia there have existed cases of such clever reduction of the deficit in the state budget for a final outcome of hyperinflation and economic catastrophe. To emerge from this, we urgently need an intelligent and determined team which will immediately serve as a link between the republics and the parties, which may be vital for the economy. And once and for all, this must be done by professionals.

The present organization of power may not be able to solve this problem. Let us return immediately to the "500 Days Program." And if 500 days are not long enough, we can add "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich." As far as I am concerned, I want to justify myself to the people for my lack of principles.

Economic

Gorbachev Receives Kemerovo Oblast Deputies

LD1903154391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the president of the USSR, received at their request a group of deputies from the Kemerovo town and oblast soviets in the Kremlin today. The deputies reported on the situation at the coal extracting enterprises in their oblast. Mutual concern was expressed about the activities of those political forces attempting—against a background of the existing difficulties—to use the miners' prestige and the miners' solidarity for anticonstitutional, political aims which, in the final analysis, will lead to complete social and economic paralysis. Attempts to resolve political aims by exerting economic pressure were rejected as unacceptable.

At the same time the deputies' proposals for eliminating the reasons preventing the introduction of joint-stock forms of ownership in the coal industry and the creation of a stable, regional, export base were discussed in detail. Instructions were also given for the implementation of a number of the deputies' proposals, in particular the improvement of the existing taxation procedure, a rayon measure for the supply of foodstuffs, and other issues worrying the miners' collectives and all of the workers in the oblast. Vice President Yanayev, Security Council

member Bakatin, USSR Minister Shchadov, and Tuleyev, chairman of the Kemerovo oblast soviet, took part in the meeting.

Miners Brief Press

LD1903174891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1503 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Excerpts] At this moment, the country's strike committees are holding a news conference in Moscow in the general confederation of labor building on Leninskiy Prospekt. They are talking about the developments in the strike movement in the mines. Details from our special correspondent Yuriy Korotkov on the telephone:

[Korotkov] The news conference is being held by the committee of the strike committees of the country and the executive bureau of the independent trade union of miners. [passage omitted]

We have been told that 165 of the country's total of 600 coal mines are now on strike. Between 280,000 and 300,000 miners are involved in the strike movement. [passage omitted]

We were also informed that an interregional coordinating council of workers' strike committees, including plenipotentiary representatives of the country's coal mining regions, was set up in Moscow yesterday. The main demands of the strike committees were once again repeated at the press conference today: the resignation of the USSR president; the dissolution of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, that has not lived up to the people's trust; the resignation of the USSR Government, that can offer no definite measures to overcome the crisis; the transfer of supreme power to a federation council of sovereign republics—in other words, to the supreme soviets and governments of those sovereign republics; and, finally, the introduction within the coal mining industry, and within other industries where the employees so wish, of a general tariff agreement that would determine just conditions of labor and pay. [passage omitted]

Independent Miners Union Reiterates Demands

LD1903221891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] The interregional council of strike committees of the independent miners' union has issued an appeal to all working people. It says that the USSR president and government and the USSR Congress of People's Deputies have shown that they are unable to implement the necessary political and economic reforms. In this connection the appeal confirms the striking miners' principal demands. These are: the resignation of the president and the government of the country; the dissolution of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies; the handover of supreme power to the Council of the Federation of Sovereign Republics; and also the conclusion in various sectors of industry of a general tariff agreement laying down conditions of work and payment.

South Urals Miners Send Delegation to Moscow

LD1903211891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1629 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk, 19 Mar (TASS)—At the meeting today between members of the trade union's territorial committee, leaders of the "Chelyabinskugol" association and representatives of the labor collectives and the south Urals strike committees, the miners decided to send their own authorized delegation to Moscow tomorrow morning to hold meetings with the leaders of the industry and the country. It was resolved to hand over to the labor collectives at the mines and coal faces the decision on continuing the strike or temporarily halting it.

10 Mines Now on Strike in Vorkuta

LD1903212291 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Vorkuta March 19 TASS—Ten of the 13 local collieries are now on strike here. Five mines have stopped work completely, others partially.

According to the Vorkuta Industrial Action Coordinating Committee, the strike will continue until direct talks begin between miners and Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov.

The Intinskaya mine in the city of Inta restarted work today.

Situation Tense in Pechora Coal Basin

LD2003084391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] According to our correspondent in Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the situation in the Pechora coal basin has become extremely exacerbated over the last day. Neighboring Inta has joined the striking miners in Vortuka. Thus, by this hour, only eight of 18 coal extracting enterprises of the region are fully operational. Strikers continue to insist on a meeting with Pavlov, chairman of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers. He believes that negotiations could begin only after all the mines resume work. The scythe came across the rock—that is how this situation is viewed by USSR People's Deputy Nikolay Naydenov, a shaft sinker from the Tsentralnaya mine in Vortuka, and RSFSR deputy Nikolay Kashnikov, a shaft sinker from the Kapitalnaya mine in Inta.

They told our correspondent that although they deem the miners' demands fair, they oppose the strike as a form of protest. The two deputies also condemn the head of government for his unwillingness to sit at the negotiating table. Time goes by. The debt of miners is constantly growing. Losses from the strike have already amounted to 34 million rubles.

'Feelings Running High' Among Tula Oblast Miners

PM1903151191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Mar 91 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent N. Kireyev report under the general heading "Local Reports"]

[Text] Tula Oblast, 18 Mar—Feelings are running high in the Moscow Coalfield too. Admittedly, for a few days now out of the 23 pits and open cuts only the "Podmoskovnaya," "Belkovskaya," "Zapadnaya," and "Dubovskaya" Pits have been entirely idle. The miners have been insisting at the meeting with the government that tariff rates be increased by 100 or 150 percent.

For many of their colleagues the demands based on the "do it now" principle are incomprehensible, since the field as a whole is unprofitable. The state subsidizes each tonne of lignite to the tune of almost 29 rubles [R] out of the budget. The annual level of compensation exceeds R436 million. Certain pits produce hardly anything but rock.

Solidarity is solidarity—that is what miners at most pits and open cuts believe. But they understand it differently—as being coordinated work. After all, the strike is hitting them in the pocketbook, destroying an already weak economy, and resulting in seams being neglected. It has already brought losses worth R1 million. The consumers of the mining output are also suffering. Almost 3 million tonnes of coal is lying in heaps and stores at state regional electric power plants. Admittedly deliveries to Romania are being carried out efficiently.

"In these difficult days," L. Zavodchikov, general director of the "Tulaugol" association, said, "many enterprises in the coalfield are working twice as hard as normal. Thus, miners from the Grylovskiy mine produced over 6,000 tonnes of coal 16 March, five times the norm. They also worked very well on the day of the referendum. The "Progress" mine and other collectives are not lagging behind the leaders.

Karaganda Mines Reportedly Operating

PM1903144591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Mar 91 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent V. Ryzhkov report under the general heading "Local Reports"]

[Text] Karaganda, 18 Mar—All the coalfield's mining enterprises are operating today here, and coal is being dispatched at a rhythmical pace. But the threat of a strike is still a reality. And there are many reasons for this. One of them is the position of the oblast workers' committee. It sent a telegram to the country's government demanding that it sit down at the negotiating table with representatives of all the country's coalfields. If they refuse, then there will be an open-ended strike. Not everyone supports the ultimatum of the leader of the working movement. For example, at the Kuzembayev mine it was decided to work through the day off to make up for the losses incurred during the one-day strike of 1 March. The Karaganda miners' council takes a different stance. Here it is believed that talks must be held with the government of Kazakhstan about the miners' urgent problems, and therefore the strike must be delayed for a while.

Report From Strike-Hit Rostov Coalfields

PM1903143791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Mar 91 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent M. Kryukov report: "Problems Wait To Be Resolved"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—The number of striking mining collectives in Rostov Oblast has decreased. Of 47 mining enterprises, six are not producing coal. However, the coal arrears are still very high. Over 350,000 tonnes of coal have been lost during the March strike. Losses have reached over R4 million.

Last Friday mine directors and trade union committee and strike committee chairmen met at the "Gukovugol" association. There were many arguments. But on the whole the document sanctioned by L. Ryabev was received with understanding here. This concerns an organized plan for the implementation of the instructions of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers on preparing proposals that would take into account the miners' demands as regards the improvement of their socioeconomic position. Following heated discussions, a resolution on suspending the strike until 25 May of this year was adopted, with the intention of giving the government the possibility of carrying out these measures. Representatives of the mine named for the 60th Anniversary of the Lenin Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] did not fall into line with the resolution. Miners from this enterprise are continuing to strike.

Five mines in the "Rostovugol" association are not working. Like in other places, the miners are in a difficult socioeconomic situation here too. Enterprises lack technical equipment. The miners exert a great deal of physical effort underground. However, they do not have much food. Meat on coupons, for instance, is not provided regularly. With high prices and the current earnings, you can buy little to eat. There are other problems still waiting to be resolved.

"It would be easier to convince people that they should go to work if they knew that the government had at least started talks with the trade union of workers in the coalmining industry," A. Pivovarov, chairman of the Rostov territorial committee of coalmining industry trade union workers, said. "Let this be declared. The point is that the government's hastily adopted resolution No. 608 is not being fully carried out. Hence the miners' mistrust in the new promises."

Miners Administration Appeals to Court

LD1903184591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By Sergey Kravchenko, TASS and UKRINFORM correspondent]

[Text] Kiev, 19 Mar (TASS)—The administration of the 'Pavlogradugol' association has appealed to the court with a petition to declare the miners' strike illegal. In its petition the association has stressed that in the spring this year the working collectives of the basin interrupted their work spontaneously, without first notifying the interested parties which is required by the USSR Law on Labor Disputes and with no regard to legal formalities.

The leaders of the strike movement have protested against this statement. They insist that the present wave of strikes is a continuation of the events which took place two years ago and since the demands of the miners who were on strike have still not been met, they are not starting this strike but resuming an interrupted one. Moreover, an opinion poll conducted by a secret ballot was held by all the working collectives of the basin on the eve of the strike, as a result of which the absolute majority of the miners have demonstrated their support for suspending work until all their demands are met. However, so far only one out of 11 mines in the Western Donbass—named after the heroes of cosmos—against which the administration of this coal producing enterprise has also filed a court petitition, is continuing the strike.

The petition is only just being examined. The managers and the miners' strike movement activists in the kray are being summoned by the judicial organs. However, opinions are being voiced here that this could cause a new wave of worker discontent.

Justice Minister on Miners' Demands

PM1903114591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 91 Union Edition p 1

[Roundup of regional reports plus commentary by USSR Justice Minister S. Lushchikov under the general heading "Strikes: Political Heat and the Legal Aspect"]

[Text] Lvov—"Workers at the 'Ukrzapadugol' association have declared an indefinite strike. Production has stopped at all 18 mines—the Lvov Oblast and Chervonogradskiy City Soviets and the leaders of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] and other democratic organizations have repeatedly asked the miners not to resort to extreme measures," S. Pikula, general director of the association, particularly stressed.

Ye. Gavalko, mining foreman and member of the strike committee, said the following to IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Troyan:

"A poll was conducted at all the mines, and the majority came out in favor of stopping work. The government does not keep its word and constantly deceives us; it has therefore been resolved not to go underground until our demands are met."

The strike by a number of mining collectives in the Ukraine coal basin threatens to have adverse consequences for many sectors. On 15 March four of the 12 operating power units of the Burshtyn GRES [state regional electric power station]—the biggest in the western region of the republic—were closed down because of lack of fuel.

Rostov-na-Donu—Some of the "Rostovugol" and "Gukovugol" associations' mines are still on strike, IZVESTIYA correspondent V. But reports.

S. Morozov, chairman of the 60-Letiya Leninskogo Komsomola Mine Strike Committee, forwarded the miners' demands: The first thing is that the mine be given full autonomy.

Kuzbass—As already reported, more than one-third of the basin's coal-mining enterprises have joined the miners' strike. The day before an extraordinary session of the Oblast soviet was held in Kemerovo. The deputies did not examine the scheduled item on the attitude to the referendum: It is necessary to hold the referendum rather than discuss it, as one deputy said. The main question remained: The current situation in the Kuzbass and the country.

The situation in the oblast, particularly regarding food supply, is close to catastrophic. Some regions of the country have virtually stopped supplying products. A strike in this respect, in the opinion of A. Tuleyev, chairman of the oblast soviet, will merely aggravate the situation. "I am against enterprises stopping," he said. "It is criminal to seek to finish off our oblast's straitened economy." At the same time he and many other speakers supported the strikers' political demands.

Moscow—Meanwhile the protest hunger strike by the four representatives of the Kuzbass miners who the day before were refused a meeting with the country's president and the opportunity to address the USSR Supreme Soviet session, continues.

A. Malykhin, who is taking part in this action and is a member of the council of Kuzbass workers' collectives, told IZVESTIYA that the government has not kept the promises it made the miners in 1989. Working and living conditions have deteriorated since that time, and the policy of reforms has proven a fiction. The labor collectives of the Kuzbass are therefore fully resolved to fight for radical and genuinely democratic transformations in the country. [regional reports end]

We contacted USSR Justice Minister S. Lushchikov in connection with the miners' strikes and asked him to comment on the legal aspects of the miners' present actions.

"Before assessing the present situation," the minister said, "it is essential to go back to the well-known USSR

Council of Ministers' Resolution 608, that came about after the strikes in the summer of 1989, and to assess how far it has been fulfilled.

"I can state with responsibility that the resolution has been virtually fulfilled from the legal standpoint. True, schools and kindergartens were not built in some places, but the money was allocated for those purposes and contractors lined up, it was then up to the construction organizations and local authorities.

"There are a number of questions bound up with the adoption of new laws, particularly those concerning leave. There are no laws as yet, but draft documents have already been prepared and everything will now depend on our parliament, which at the present session deemed it necessary to address laws in the sphere of the economy first of all.

"And given that Resolution 608 has been fulfilled, the former strike committees should have been disbanded. The continuation of their activity is illegal from the standpoint of the Law on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes adopted on 9 October 1989.

"The question arises as to who is making the political demands on the president and the cabinet. Do people who have called at a rally for a mine to stop and stated that they will act on behalf of the collective have the right to conduct talks?

"The procedure whereby certain demands be submitted before a strike is laid down by the law. The demands are examined by the mine administrations and then conciliation commissions and arbitation can come into play. And if the issues are still not resolved after this a strike makes sense and a body specially authorized by the collective can express the strikers' opinion.

"And one more thing: Redistribution of authority between the center and the republics is now under way, so many questions connected with miners' living and working conditions should be addressed to republic councils of ministers. Incidentally, in addition to Resolution 608, there also exists the Russian Government's Resolution 254 of 15 August 1989, which was also adopted as a result of the miners' strikes. Consequently claims directed at one center alone are manifestly devoid of logic.

"As a representative of the law, I would like to remind people that the building of a rule-of-law state has been and remains paramount for us. And that means that the law rather than emotion

Metalworkers' TU Chief on Miners' Strike

LD2003082391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1830 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Interview with Nikolay Nikolayevich Karnaukh, chairman of the USSR Federation of Metallurgy Industry Workers Trade Unions, by radio commentator Yakov Smirnov; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Smirnov] What is the situation now in the country's metallury enterprises?

[Karnaukh] A very tense situation has developed in connection with the miners' strikes. Many batteries of coke ovens are on the verge of stopping, especially in the Donbass region, as are coking by-product works in central Russia and the Urals. In connection with the strikes in progress, particularly in the Donbass, the Kuzbass, and Vorkuta, we are receiving a mere 884,000 tonnes of coking coal, one third of what the industry needs.

An extremely tense situation has developed in the Ukraine. The situation at the Mariupol, Krivov Rog, Bagley, Avdeyevka and Kommunar coking by-products works is critical. These works are virtually operating from hand to mouth, and literally the slightest delay in supplies of coking coal could lead to the works stopping at any moment. That means that, following coking by-product works, blast furnaces and steelmaking units would be forced to stop. [passage omitted)

At a number of works we do not have the resources for creating funds. We do not have material incentive funds. We do not have the resources to pay wages. All this disturbs the collectives and creates tension in the working collectives. [passage omitted]

As a result of a 1-percent reduction in production metallurgy does not have some 90 million rubles [R] in its wage funds. [passage omitted] In addition, that reduction in production also reduces by some R60 million the profits which go into the distribution funds.

[Smirnov] In other words, a 1-percent reduction in production means in practice that metallurgy goes short of R150 million in one form or another, and our percentage is much higher. [passage omitted]

I know that the metallurgists are now also on the verge of striking, but I know that the metallurgists do not want to go down to the road that our miners have taken. All the same, what ways do you see for resolving the problems? [Karnaukh] In order to remove the tension which we have had in recent years as a result of the miners' strikes—and in the majority of cases, the miners' demands are well-founded—the government has to tackle the issue as an overall package, especially in connection with our entry into the market. The government undoubtedly has to respond to the economic demands which the miners are making. For example, we metallurgists have told the government that it is necessary for the government to meet the coal miners' trade union and to examine the problems which the coal miners are putting forward today. We support that.

[Smirnov] How long can the metallurgy industry hold out if the miners' strikes continue?

[Karnaukh] If the shortfall in supplies of these essential resources continues at this rate, we are already virtually on the verge of the closure, the stopping, of a number of factories. That could happen quickly. [passage omitted]

[Smirnov] Approximately, for how long do you have stocks of coking and ordinary coal left, either in the industry as a whole or at your individual enterprises? [passage omitted]

[Karnaukh] Stocks have gone down by two thirds at enterprises in the Ukraine.

[Smirnov] For how long are they left? How many more days can they last?

[Karnaukh] Judge for yourself. The Mariupol coking by-product works is supposed to use 85,000 tonnes daily, and it has just 6,000 tonnes left. In other words, we are gathering up all our stocks, just in order not to stop, and these works and batteries of coke ovens are operating on no-load: in practice, they are no longer providing the quality of coke which is needed, let alone the quantity which we expect. [passage omitted]

We are not planning any stoppages or strike calls. On the contrary, we say we should make the greatest possible use of means for mass influence, common influence, on state bodies, in order to remove the problems worrying metallurgists today.

Steelworks May Close for Want of Coking Coal

PM1903171991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Report by G. Kondaurov, place and date not given; from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] [Kondaurov] Miners at one of the biggest mines in the Donbass, the mine named for Stakhanov, hold the record as regards the length of strike. The mine is at a standstill for the 14th day in succession. Not one tonne of coal has been dispatched to consumers.

[M.Ya. Volynets, chairman of the independent trade union at the mine named for Stakhanov] We are very worried that the government is not reacting to our demands.

[Kondaurov] The three mines at Krasnoarmeysk city, on strike since 1 March, have meanwhile been joined by a further 36 mines in the Ukraine. At many coking and chemical plants the supplies of coking coal are sufficient for only one coking battery shift. For the first time in 50 years, since 1941, instructions have been issued at metallurgical plants to get ready to completely shut down blast and open-hearth furnaces.

Further Decline Predicted in Soviet Oil Exports

PM1903164491 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10, 10-17 Mar 91 p 12

[Article by Vladimir Voloshin and Aleksey Yakushin of the Institute of World Economic and Political Research: "Falling Soviet Oil Exports Affect Eastern Europe"]

[Text] Soviet oil exports will further decline this year. This represents the major threat to the USSR's cooperation with East European countries. Last year's 20 per cent decline came as a shock. This year Soviet export of oil to these countries will be at least halved.

Oil production in the Soviet Union is expected to fall by a further 40-70 milion metric tons, totalling a critical figure of 500 million tons. If this in fact takes place, the Soviet Union may as well forget about exporting its oil to either Eastern Europe or the rest of the world under the prevailing economic conditions.

Eastern Europe also faces formidable energy problems. While trying to transfer to market economies and raise standards of environmental protection, many coal mines there prove to be inefficient and close down. In Eastern Germany alone the production of brown coal has been cut from 300 to 150 million tons. A similar situation is in Poland and Hungary. At the same time, oil-and-gas production is likely to remain in the immediate future as low as it is today. Nuclear power engineering is also fraught with problems.

As Soviet oil supplies decline, East European countries earn less hard currency through reexporting that oil to the West. In the late 1980s they exported 60 million tons. Soon they are likely to export only one-half or one-third of that amount.

They in fact have only two ways left to make ends meet. They could institute energy-saving policies and increase oil exports from countries other than the USSR, paid for in hard currency, of course. If one adds to that the cost Eastern Europe would be obliged to pay for Soviet oil as well, the sum would be astronomical, 20-25 billion dollars. But they depend on more than just oil exports alone.

A solution? These countries have to overhaul their economic system to raise the quality of their products to a level competitive on the world market. This means to attain the standards of Western industrialized countries. We expect that for this purpose Eastern Germany would need as little as 5-8 years; Hungary, Cechoslovakia and Poland-20-30 years; Romania and Bulgaria-30-40 years

Scientific

Progress M-7 Launched With Cargo for Mir

LD1903181991 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—An automatic ferry spacecraft, Progress M-7, was launched in the Soviet

Union today at 16:05 Moscow time to ensure the continuation of planned work on board the Mir space research station.

The spacecraft's mission is to deliver expendable materials and other cargo on board the Mir station.

The craft is also carrying a ballistic capsule in which materials with results of research will be returned to earth.

The Progress M-7 spacecraft has been launched into the orbit with the following parameters:
—Maximum distance from earth's surface—230 kilometers,
—Minimum distance from the earth's surface—190 kilometers,
—The period of revolution—88.4 minutes,
—Inclination—51.6 degrees.

According to telemetric information, the on-board systems of the Progress M-7 spacecraft operate normally.

Cosmos-2137 Satellite Launched 19 Mar

LD2003095191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, 20 Mar (TASS)—Another artificial Earth satellite Cosmos-2137 was launched in the Soviet Union Tuesday by the Cosmos rocket carrier; the satellite will carry out space research.

The satellite was placed in an orbit with the following parameters:
initial period of revolution—94.0 min
apogee—495 km
perigee—488 km
orbital inclination—65.9 degrees.

The satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to Earth data about the work of the instruments. The installed equipment is working normally.

Baltic Republics

UK's Major 'Firmly Promised' Support for Baltics

PM1903150991 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 9 Mar 91 p 4

[Article by observer Mechislav Sadovskiy under the "Review of International Events" rubric: "The World Is United and Interlinked"]

[Excerpts] Following a brief working visit to Moscow, British Prime Minister John Major immediately flew to the Gulf. [passage omitted]

We should bear in mind that Major's trip to Moscow was the first visit to the USSR by one of the leaders of the Western countries since the January events in Lithuania and Latvia, the personnel changes in the Soviet top ranks, and the offensive by those who would like to see a "firm hand" in Moscow.

The talks in the Soviet capital reaffirmed the British Government's position of support for the transformations taking place in the Soviet Union, and its desire not to interfere in or influence the nature of the reforms. This is shown both by the British premier's statements in Moscow and by the official statement made in the British House of Commons. Admittedly, the British prime minister firmly linked the provision of economic aid to the USSR with progress in the reforms that are under way, and primarily with the situation in the Baltic region.

John Major firmly promised during his talks with representatives of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian Governments to the USSR Cabinet of Ministers that Britain will continue to consistently support the Baltic states' aspirations for independence.

The Baltic problem was actively discussed not only at the summit meeting in Moscow. The results of an opinion poll in Estonia and Latvia have generated a great response. [passage omitted]

One would like to believe that reason would triumph and that the forthcoming talks between the Lithuanian and Soviet delegations will be fruitful. Because agreement with Moscow will lead to widespread international recognition for Lithuanian independence, which was proclaimed a year ago. Conversely, world public support for the Lithuanian people's desire for independence will make it possible to conduct the forthcoming talks more successfully and fruitfully. The entire world, people, and whole peoples are closely interlinked on the basis of common human values. This, incidentally, is one of the principles underlying the new thinking in international politics.

Estonia's Lippmaa on Meeting With Baker

LD1803114491 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Interview with Endel Lippmaa, minister without portfolio for eastern affairs, by correspondent Jaan Raudsepp in Moscow on 16 March—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] We will begin with Moscow. As we have already reported today, an essential meeting took place in Moscow for the future of the Baltic states. Now Jaan Raudsepp reports at greater length about this meeting.

[Raudsepp] Government Minister Mr. Lippmaa, how do you evaluate today's meeting with James Baker, U.S. secretary of state?

[Lippmaa] Positively, in every way. What is important is that yesterday Secretary of State Baker met 12 USSR Union republics, but today at 0915 he met representatives of the three Baltic states at the U.S. Embassy. This is already a success.

[Raudsepp] What were the most topical subjects, problems, and issues discussed?

[Lippmaa] Actually, the entire meeting was devoted to the issue of talks with the USSR on the issue of the Baltic states' independence. Everything else that was, well, also touched upon, was not really done in any depth. Everything focused, indeed, on the talks; namely on how to get the actual independence talks going and carried out, and on what the key problems of the legal status, and other very diverse problems, are.

[Raudsepp] Did any kind of a proposal come from James Baker that in actual fact would facilitate continuation of those dragged-out procedures?

[Lippmaa] Well, yes. First, of course, Secretary of State Baker took a very serious attitude to the referendums that have already taken place here. He considered these to be the true expression of the people's will; evidently this has made quite a serious impression on him, and actually influenced the United States. If we now talk about the talks, then perhaps the most important thing he voiced was that as the Baltic states have never joined the USSR, there is no need for them to leave on the basis of the secession law, either. This is a very important step forward, because the USSR central government at the moment does indeed demand that we unconditionally observe the secession law if we want to leave. So evidently there is some kind of a shift to be observed on this issue.

[Raudsepp] Evidently this subject was also the subject matter of yesterday's discussion at the meeting?

[Lippmaa] Yes indeed. We fortunately could also refute some kinds of misunderstandings. Namely, it had evidently been said to Secretary of State Baker that the Baltic states do not want any talks, and that they

themselves avoid talks. Well, we all three of us assured him that matters are completely the other way around. We are ready for talks all the time, and at any time, but there is no wish seen for any talks with us. The USSR delegation even lacks the necessary mandate for these talks. So we emphasized the readiness on our side, and Secretary of State Baker fully agreed with this, and promised to raise the issue again at his meeting with Bessmertnykh, USSR foreign minister, whom he went to see immediately after our meeting today came to an end.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium Elected

LD1903094191 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn March 19 TASS—The newly elected Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet includes two representatives of the "Russian opposition"—People's Deputies Vladimir Lebedev, who is concurrently chairman of the Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Representatives of Estonian Working People, and Vitaliy Menshikov.

Leader of the Independent Democrats faction Yulo Uluots and leader of the People's Front bloc Ignar Fjuk were also elected to the new presidium.

The need to reform this governing body of the Estonian legislature has been debated since last autumn. The previous presidium consisted of chairmen of legislative standing commissions, elected by a majority.

Latvian Official Comments on Baker Meeting

LD2003090291 Riga International Service in Latvian 2030 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] We have already reported on the 16 March meeting between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and representatives of the three Baltic states when he visited Moscow. Today Janis Peters, the authorized representative of the Government of Latvia in the Soviet Union, gives his impressions of this meeting.

[Begin Peters recording] The main topic of the talks was the expected discussions or talks between the USSR Government and the official delegation of the Baltic states. James Baker stressed that neither side must set any preconditions, and that there are no topics which cannot be discussed at those talks. USSR Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh also said this when he met in the first round with James Baker.

It was important that James Baker repeated the idea to the effect that the Baltic republics have a different status, and that there is no need for them to go, they should not have to go through the official ritual of seceding. I apologize, he did not use the word seceding; he said: On the road to self-determinationd there is no need to go through the official ritual.

I submitted to James Baker a letter from the Latvian Council of Ministers and the Agriculture Ministry on possible cooperation and also economic assistance, especially in agriculture. I received the reply that a U.S. information center will be opened, in the first place, precisely in Riga, as the city that is the most convenient for exchanging information between the United States and the three Baltic states. [end recording]

You have heard Janis Peters on the meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. For the time being, however, it is not yet known when the U.S. information center in Latvia will open. In the meantime observers are positively assessing the efforts of the U.S. Administration to orient itself toward separate regions of the present USSR, and no longer only toward the state as a whole.

Latvia Adopts Law Guaranteeing Equal Rights

LD1903183191 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Riga March 19 TASS—The Latvian parliament today adopted a law that guarantees equal rights to the republic's residents of all nationalities, the LETA news agency reports.

The law guarantees the right of ethnic minorities, which account for almost half of the republic's population, to cultural autonomy and self-government.

Any acts encouraging ethnic discrimination, proclamation of national superiority or strife are punishable by law.

The law obliges national minorities and their associations to observe Latvian laws and respect the republic's sovereignty and integrity.

Deputy Views Implementation

LD1903231291 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1830 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Excerpt] In the course of the many laws and resolutions being examined at the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, the law on free development and rights to cultural autonomy of the nationality and ethnic groups of Latvia was adopted in its third reading today.

Andrejs Pantelejevs, chairman of the Human Rights and National Questions Commission, and Deputy Ruta Marjasa and First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council Dainis Ivans, replied during a news conference to journalists' questions on implementing this law.

Ruta Marjasa also spoke about the essence of this law and how it will be implemented in Latvia.

[Begin Marjassa recording] The deputies worked on this law for almost a full year. Taking into consideration all the realities and all the wishes, this draft law did not cause very sharp debates. But the only thing which I would like to note is that the equal rights faction behaved exceedingly passively towards this draft law.

Let us say, well, one could be pleased that they did not disrupt this work much, but I sincerely expected from them, since I, after all, regard that they do, nevertheless, represent, they declare that they represent national minorities, Russians, Belorussians and so on, them simply, well, in a positive respect we expected from them some kind of ideas which could be added and which could be discussed. [sentence as heard]. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Lithuania Statement on 14 March Explosion

LD1503165891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] The following is a statement by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania:

On 14 March 1991 the first police commissariat received information that last night an explosion took place at the military commandant's office on Kosciuskos Street. Some plaster fell from the wall during the explosion. According to a preliminary expert conclusion, a home-made explosive device was used. Representatives of the military commandant's office did not contact police about this event.

ELTA is authorized to state that such provocative actions are aimed at destabilizing the situation in the republic on the eve of the referendum organized by a neighboring state.

RSFSR

Trubin Finds No Offense in Yeltsin Speeches

LD1903215191 Moscow All-Union Radio Second Program Radio-2 Network in Russian 2045 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] USSR Procurator General Trubin has forwarded a document to the country's Supreme Soviet which states that the pronouncements contained in the addresses made by Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, cannot be seen as calls for the forcible overthrow or change of the Soviet state and social order. Trubin also thinks that there are no grounds for concluding that these pronouncements affect the honor and dignity of the president. They also do not contain any criminal libel.

Deputies on Hunger Strike Over General's Post

LD2003132391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1130 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Excerpt] The Moscow Soviet press center has just reported to us that 10 members of the Moscow Soviet standing commission for legality, law and order, and the protection of citizens' rights declared a hunger strike today. According to their statement, they have been forced to resort to this radical form of protest in order to draw the attention of the public and of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet to the continuing arbitrary actions of Pugo, USSR minister of internal affairs, who, with the clear connivance of the country's president, is persistently continuing to ignore the decision by a session of the Moscow Soviet to appoint General Vyacheslav Komissarov to the post of head of Moscow City Soviet Executive committee Internal Affairs Adminsitration and to remove General Petr Bogdanov from this post. The statement stresses that the procurators general of the USSR and RSFSR are not paying any attention to the inadmissibility of the present situation, while the RSFSR minister of internal affairs refuses to issue an appropriate order for establishing Vyacheslav Komissarov in office. The deputies on hunger strike are confident that their intentions will be understood and supported by a majority of the electorate, and propose that other people's deputies join their action. The hunger strike will continue until Gen. Komissarov is actually in office. [passage omitted]

Voters Request Recall of Deputy Isakov

LD1903215391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Korovskiy Rayon Soviet has requested the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and Russia's Central Electoral Commission to take a vote on the recall of RSFSR People's Deputy Vladimir Isakov, who was elected to the republic's legislature in this rayon.

During a special poll conducted among the voters on 17 March, three-quarters of them expressed no confidence in their people's deputy.

I remind you that Vladimir Isakov is one of the six leading figures of Russia's Supreme Soviet who signed the statement against Boris Yeltsin.

Ingush People Rally for Restorating Statehood

LD1903180191 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Grozny March 19 TASS—A rally of representatives of the Ingush people continues in the town of Nazran.

Participants in the rally lasting for several days, demand that the issue of restoring the Ingush statehood in its historic borders be resolved and the part of Ingush territory added to North Ossetia be returned.

The rally continued even after Russian President Boris Yeltsin and First Vice-President Ruslan Khasbulatov appealed to participants, calling for a parliamentary solution of the problem. Yeltsin and Khasbulatov said the bill on the rehabilitation of repressed people will be submitted to the current session of the Russian parliament.

"People are not satisfied with promises, and there are lots of promises," chairman of the Nazran District Council of People's Deputies A. Aushev told TASS.

"Participants in the rally demand that the fate of the Ingush people be resolved without delay, and the discussion of the bill on repressed peoples be included in the session's agenda as an extraordinary issue. Only in this case, we are ready to suspend the rally. Nevertheless, I believe that an ultimatum is not the best way to reach political aims," Aushev said.

Tensions are running high in the region. Refugees from Tskhinvali are arriving in North Ossetia's Prigorodny District bordering on Nazran District. Before the Ingush people were stripped of their statehood, Prigorodny District was part of the Ingush Autonomy.

Further on 18 Mar Khasbulatov News Conference

LD1903235591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 19 March, during its regularly scheduled "Russian Legislative Herald" program, broadcasts a 15-minute report on a news conference by Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet, with Soviet and foreign journalists in Moscow on 18 March.

The report opens with Khasbulatov's comments on the forthcoming RSFSR People's Deputies congress, saying: "We have submitted three questions. They are a report on the political and socioeconomic position of the RSFSR by Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, and two other reports: about the Union treaty and the federation treaty. These questions are very complicated, and, unfortunately, they are becoming increasingly confused. After all, in theory, this Union treaty was devised counting on the Union republics. The Union republics was the right approach. But, in fact, active use was made of the factor of the national autonomies. In the first stage, it was evidently used to somehow set the factor of the autonomous republics against the activity of the Russian Supreme Soviet. Now, the very organizers of this business have already, in general, begun to understand that it is a matter of the disintegration of Russia, the disintegration of a 1,000-year-old state, and they seem to be trying to somehow maneuver, and so on, but nothing is coming of it so far. So, it seems to me that the destiny of the Union treaty is very vague. You know what is interesting? That even a whole series of Union republics, the leaders of Union republics, are expressing more concern over the destiny of the unity of Russia than some of our political leaders. Just imagine what a qualitatively interesting situation it is: some of our political leaders don't even realize what it's all about, they just want to sign some treaty and leave it at that."

Khasbulatov adds that the congress organized a large commission of 120 people to work on the Union treaty issue. He met with the commission's working party, but, "in general, very many complicated questions remain, so that I don't know how the question will be resolved at the congress."

After tracing the history of the country's various earlier union treaties and constitutions, Khasbulatov said: "Well, proceeding from such political considerations, proceeding from the fact that the view that Yeltsin and Khasbulatov are opposed to the Union treaty has become quite firmly entrenched, we immediately decided that, no matter what happens there, we'd take it as a working basis. There's one small error, both mine and, apparently, our chairman's, too, when Boris Nikolayevich said that Khasbulatov didn't sign it, he meant that draft that had appeared in the press. I signed the working basis adopted by our commission. I would like you to note that, since people have even started to write in such a way, and to create premises as though the chairman were contradicting me. That's far from being the case, and I want to tell you so."

He continues: "Now, on the subject of the various rumors and arguments to the effect that the presidium is incompetent. I assure you that all that has absolutely no basis in fact. The presidium takes all necessary decisions precisely and without any particular difficulty." He denied that there were any real divisions within the Presidium and stressed that what was needed now was cooperation and "concrete deeds." He adds that hard times lay ahead, that prices are still rising, and that people must be told the truth and need to be given realistic hopes.

A correspondent then asks "Russian Imranovich, the head of the Moscow office of the magazine NEWSWEEK writes in his publication that, in view of a number of many Western analysts, the conservative course, the conservative turn in the activities of the union leadership, may be short-lived, and the long-term strategy will be different. What do you think of that idea? How realistic is it?"

Khasbulatov replies: "If one means the really long-term course of our state, one must not think that we are some heterogeneous phenomenon, isolated from the world community. Look at the processes in Latin America. The cruel dictator Pinochet was forced to retire. Look at what is happening in other countries. Practically everywhere—in Albania, in Eastern Europe—there is an ongoing process of the democratization of all societies and structures and of drawing together. What is nevertheless, uppermost is some kind of common sense among people and states. Just look at the events in the Persian Gulf. The United Nations received a very powerful charge, democratic potential, as a result of the joint action by the international forces, although from our country there were attempts, as you know, practically to save that rotten and criminal regime. Thank God those actions were unsuccessful! After all, in general, our diplomacy found iteself in a very, let's be honest, uncomfortable situation in regard to the attempts, the shuttle

trips by Primakov, and so on, when it was already obvious that Saddam Husayn's regime would collapse like a house of cards."

Khasbulatov continues "On the level of long-term strategy, I do, of course, believe that our country will, nevertheless, proceed wholly along the very serious path of democratic transformations, along the path of serious reform. That is beyond doubt. As for perestroyka itself, the theory of perestroyka, it has already exhausted itself. We need reforms, normal reforms, primarily economic reforms. We have to create a normal mixed market economy. We have to create competitive forces. What does that mean? It means separating the economy from the state. Adam Smith was right in saying that the state should perform the functions of a night watchman. The economy is the domain of people, enterpreneurs and their collectives, and here the state should intervene only indirectly, through tax regulation, and so on. The sooner we liberate the economy from the clutches of the state control, the more economic freedom citizens will have. A citizen's economic freedom also means his political independence and political freedom. We need reforms of that kind."

Answering a question about the expected atmosphere at the third congress, Khasbulatov made the point that: "of course, people are worried, and deputies too, about the fact that, during the six months of our official rule, we have not chalked up particularly notable successes, to put it mildly. Right? But, after all, in the Russian economy, 60-70 percent of industry is closely associated with military industrial production. That's one thing. The second is that many officials who were previously in the party leadership and who virtually laid waste to the whole of Russia have managed successfully to install themselves in the soviets, and they make use of instructions and advice, not from here, not from our own, Russian authorities, but from completely different levels of authority. They are, in practice, preventing us from carrying out normal work."

Khasbulatov uses agriculture as an example, saying that, despite good congress decisions, local officials were sabotaging them; they failed to distribute land. The RSFSR Government was not against the collective and state farms, Khasbulatov says, although it was often accused of opposing them. He adds that those responsible for the dire position on the land are "the politicians of the central administration." He says they raised the price of farm machinery and fertilizer five-10 times, turning prosperous collective and state farms into liabilities. Political opponents were, naturally, trying to blame the six-month Russian administration for the six years of mistakes made by USSR politicians, Khasbulatov asserts.

"But, see for yourselves," he says. "We should have received 30 million tonnes of grain in Russia. Right? As of today, we have received something like 500,000 tonnes instead of the 30 million tonnes. The harvest has not been gathered, and we are accused of failure, as they allege. But, let's say, three oblasts—Rostov Oblast, Stavropol Kray, and Krasnodar Kray—haven't handed over even half of the grain that they've harvested. What have they done with it? Either it's rotted away, or they're deliberately holding on to it. There are very many such instances. That's the point. There are many instances of our local authorities refusing to obey us at the direct bidding of certain persons in the leadership, and that's how they act, at the bidding of other power structures. Naturally, an end must be put to this. I think that there will be a serious conversation on the subject at the congress, a very serious conversation. In general, I think that, at the congress, we will emerge stronger. We will emerge stronger."

At 1700 GMT, the report ends.

Russian Commission Discusses Union Treaty Draft

LD1903214791 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—The commission for making amendments to the draft Union treaty, set up by a Congress of Russian People's Deputies, held a session at the House of Soviets today, the press service of the Presidium of the Russian parliament reports.

The session, chaired by Russian Vice President Ruslan Khasbulatov, was addressed by Sergey Shakhray, who reported on proposals and amendments to the draft Union treaty made by the commission's working group.

Participants in the session expressed different opinions as regards subjects of the Union treaty, the procedure for adopting the Union and federative treaties, the separation of powers between the Union and its constituent republics and some other problems.

The session instructed the working group to consider proposals made during the discussion and prepare a final draft of the treaty by March 25.

The session also discussed a preliminary protocol on the main principles of the national and state structure of the Russian Federation and the procedure for signing a Union treaty.

These matters will be submitted for discussion to the upcoming session of the Russian Council of Federation.

Committee Reviews RSFSR Dual Office Ban

91UN1093A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 91 Union Edition p 2

["Conclusions of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee"]

[Text] **In accordance with the desires of the USSR people's deputies and in view of the queries of citizens on the question of leaders of state organs of authority and administration holding more than one office, we are**

publishing documents of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee on this question.

On the Prohibition Against Leaders of State Organs of Authority and Administration Holding More than One Office, Established in RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Legislation.

The Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies on 20 June 1990 adopted a decree "On the Mechanism of Democracy in the RSFSR," which contains a provision that "a leader who holds an office in a state organ of authority or administration is not permitted to hold any other office, including in political and sociopolitical organizations." The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, after examining, on the recommendation of the USSR president, the question of the conformity of the indicated provision to the USSR Constitution, USSR laws, and USSR international obligations, and after recognizing that it concerns the basic rights of USSR citizens, resolved the following:

a) the legal norm introduced in RSFSR legislation on the inadmissibility of holding more than one office refers to any leader of any state organ of authority or administration, and it applies to holding any positions at enterprises, in institutions, and in political or sociopolitical organizations, including elective offices and offices held on a public basis;

b) the aforementioned provision limits the right of persons holding a position of leader of these state organs to active participation in public organizations, and also the right of citizens to freedom of association and the right of organizations freely to elect their own representatives without the interference of state authorities who are capable of limiting these rights and freedoms or precluding their legal implementation.

Thus, the aforementioned provision:

does not conform to the rights of USSR citizens affirmed in Articles 6, 48, and 51 of the USSR Constitution, and also in Articles 15 and 16 of the Law of the USSR "On Public Associations" (which will go into effect on 1 January 1991), to take part both directly and through public organizations, including political parties, in the administration of state and public affairs, in the formation of organs of state authority and administration, and in the work of state organs and public organizations, and also the freedom of citizens to unite in political parties and public organizations and to participate in mass movements;

contradicts the provisions of Articles 22 and 25 of the International Treaty on Civic and Political Rights (1966), Article 8 of the International Treaty on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966), Articles 2, 3, and 8 of the Convention of the International Labor Organization "On Freedom of Association and Defense of the Right of Organization" (1948), Articles (7.5), (7.9) of the Document of the Copenhagen meeting of the Conference on Human Measurement of the CSCE which secured the equal right and opportunity for everyone to take a direct part in the conduct of state affairs and freely to elect representatives for their conduct, to assume political or state positions as an individual or as representatives of political parties or organizations without discrimination, and also the freedom of association, including the right of public organizations and the obligation of state authorities not to restrict this right and not to hinder its legal implementation;

introduces differences and exceptions for a candidate to the office of leader of a state organ of authority or administration, even if he holds an elective unpaid position in political or sociopolitical organizations, differences and exceptions that are based on indications of political convictions and having as their result the violation of the equality of opportunity of candidates, which is discrimination;

illegally changes the conditions of holding more than one office which, in accordance with Articles 106 and 107 of the Basic Laws of the Union SSR and the Union republics on labor can be stipulated only by the Union SSR law.

The aforementioned position was formulated in a decree of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies without taking into account the differences in legal status of: 1) political figures; 2) persons working in state service on a work contract; 3) state employees who are elected or appointed to an office by representative organs; 4) persons who are performing duties in state organs and public organizations on a public basis (without pay). In this way, limits are placed on the participation of a wide circle of citizens in state and public affairs, not based on specific requirements associated with the type and nature of work and occupations.

Taking into account what has been set forth and being guided by Article 124 of the USSR Constitution and Articles 12, 18, and a part of a third, Article 21 of the USSR Law "On Constitutional Oversight in the USSR," the USSR Committee on Constitutional Oversight came to the conclusion:

1. Paragraph 2 of the decree of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies of 20 June 1990 "On the Mechanism of Democracy in the RSFSR," which does not permit a leader of a state organ of authority or administration to hold more than one office, including political or sociopolitical organizations, does not conform to the provision of the USSR Constitution and the law of the Union SSR on work and international obligations of the USSR, and it loses force from the moment of adoption of this Conclusion.

2. The adoption of this Conclusion does not hinder the establishment in legislation of restrictions on more than one paid office being held by leaders of state organs of authority and administration, if such restrictions are based on specific requirements associated with the type and nature of work and occupations and the law clearly defines the categories of offices, the holding of which is not permitted under conditions of holding more than one office.

* * *

Special opinion of committee members S.S. Boskholov and A.G. Bykov. According to the exact purport of the aforementioned decree of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies, the question does not concern restrictions on rights, but it is about the establishment in legislative procedure of legal conditions whose observance permits a leader of an organ of state authority or administration to hold an office. In practice, this means that a person who expresses his concurrence to be a leader of an appropriate organ of state authority or administration simultaneously voluntarily assumes responsibility for complying with legally necessary requirements established by higher organs of state authority and associated with assumption of the office. The RSFSR, as a sovereign state, had a right to stipulate such conditions for leaders of organs of state authority and administration.

[Signed] B. Lazarev, deputy chairman of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee
Moscow, 25 October 1990

Concerning the Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 30 January 1991 "On the Procedure for Fulfilling the Decree of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies 'On the Mechanism of Democracy in the RSFSR'"

On 25 October 1990, the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee approved a conclusion regarding the decree of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies of 20 June 1990 "On the Mechanism of Democracy in the RSFSR." The conclusion noted that the general prohibition introduced by Paragraph 2 of the aforementioned decree on the holding of more than one office by a leader of an organ of state authority and administration, including political or sociopolitical organizations, does not conform to the USSR Constitution, the Basic Laws of the Union SSR and the Union Republics on Work, and the USSR Law on Public Associations, and also to international acts on human rights. The aforementioned acts, as is known, permit the limitation on holding only more than one paid office and only in the event that this limitation is based on specific requirements associated with the type and nature of work and occupations, and the law must define the offices and occupations that are not allowed under conditions of dual office holding. Taking this into account, the committee came to the conclusion that Paragraph 2 of the decree of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies of 20 June 1990 does not conform to the provision of the USSR Constitution and USSR laws, and also to the international obligations of the USSR, and, therefore, it loses force from the moment of the adoption of this conclusion.

However, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in a decree of 30 January 1991 "On the Procedure for Complying With the Decree of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies 'On the Mechanism of Democracy in the RSFSR,'" gave instructions to local organs of the republic to put the decree into effect, which had lost its force in accordance with the USSR law "On Constitutional Oversight in the USSR." According to Article 124 of the USSR Constitution, the conclusions of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee on the recognition of a law or other normative act that lost force are subject to compliance by everyone to whom they are addressed, and they can be rejected only by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Affirming its conclusion of 25 October 1990, the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee does not call into question the right of higher representative organs of the state authority of republics to declare the principles of its own political activity and to issue appropriate political directives. However, they cannot introduce legal prohibitions and measures of legal responsibility that contradict the constitutions of the USSR and the republics and international acts on human rights.
[Signed] S. Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee
15 February 1991

Russia Establishes Public Security Service

LD1603163891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0800 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] A public security service has been set up in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Internal Affairs Ministry.

First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation Lieutenant General Anikeyev, the service's head, believes that defending the honor and dignity of each citizen of our country is the service's main task. We will only be able to resolve this task when we receive the full support of the broad public, he adds.

The appropriate personnel have been selected for the service and funds have been allocated. From 1 March of this year the salaries of RSFSR Internal Affairs Ministry workers were increased on average by 70-81 percent.

Democratic Russia Publishes Coup d'Etat 'Aid'

PM1803161591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 91 Second Edition p6

[Article by A. Mikhaylov under the "Ironic Lines" rubric: "Calling All Spies..."]

[Text] A remarkable aid for preparing for "coups d'etat" was recently distributed by the Democratic Russia Coordination Council. As soon as you read the very first paragraphs of the published instruction leaflet, you are drawn into the mysterious science of weaving intrigues, spying, eavesdropping, finding things out, and generally sniffing around. So what interests the coordinators of this all-out espionage? Everything perhaps? They want to know who is "on their side" in soviets, plants, factories, law courts, and public prosecutor's offices. Deciding who is "on their side" and who is not is as easy as pie. If

someone starts talking about preparing for sowing, for example, that makes him a passionate enemy of "democracy," you see.

By subtly probing various structures, people must find out: "What kind of duplication equipment is available, and where and how is paper to be obtained?" With both items in extremely short supply, there is no need to explain to you in length how they are to be "obtained." Now the next task: Having established the arrangement of forces, people are to prepare for elections. It seems that there is soon going to be an explosive expression of the people's will in favor of the advent of mayors and governors. Don't worry, those at the top have already thought about this. But evidently it would not go amiss to start thinking about candidate sheriffs and constables. So as to avoid any bother later on. With the help of these men, conversation with people who think differently will become more interesting.

If anyone tries to stand in the way of work to implant cells responsible for establishing "the new order"—"kick up a fuss" and complain to progressive organs of the press. You are still feeling confused? Shame on you! According to the instructions, the very first door you should knock on is that of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. The leaders there are bright—graduates of the Moscow Higher Party School, in fact—and will give you the help you need. It might also be a good idea to pop into the offices of the journal OGONEK. You are perhaps familiar with its chief editor's moving words about the leader of the revolution? "Lenin, his face aglow, came to lead us...." In short, a reliable comrade!

But where, you may ask, is the money going to come from for this intelligence work? That, too, has been taken care of! All you have to do is "establish contacts with private business—cooperatives, leaseholders, and small enterprises." The Democratic Russia instructions assure us that we reflect their interests. Put all thoughts of the consumer's interests out of your head. You are wrong if you think that way. And, of course, "you must have a clear idea of how to organize a rally, demonstration, and, in particular, a strike." Don't worry that there are no precise instructions about how to do this. They will probably appear in the next "tatsupao" [reference to wall posters put up by the Red Guard during the Cultural Revolution in China].

If you are worried by doubts as to the point of this all-out espionage—relax. Its purpose is to organize "opposition to the leadership headed by Gorbachev." You must understand that there's no place for reverance here. Democratic Russia is eager for power—surely you must have realized that?

It is interesting that these inflammatory instructions are being passed around various high-level bodies, including the Union legislature, and have been given a brief mention in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. It is reported that the author of these instructions is People's Deputy A. Murashev—and no one has denied this. So it is probably true. I cannot wait for week two: How will members of the USSR Supreme Soviet respond to this proclamation?

RSFSR Peasants' Party Chairman Interviewed

LD1803210791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The first congress of the Russian Peasants' Party ended in Moscow today. The writer Chernichenko was elected its chairman. Our commentator Semen Astakhov spoke to him:

[Chernichenko] The aims and tasks of our party are as clear and as simple as a dewdrop: free labor on one's own land; private ownership of land with the existence, too, of state ownership because there are no other alternatives; a market economy; and the main thing is the peasant family looking after everything—its own labor, its every day living, its children, its women, its health, its income, its finance. That is the range of our issues. We are certainly not saying that the Peasants' Party sets itself the task of feeding Russia. Nothing of the kind! Its task is to feed itself. But the peasant—the farmer, the peasant—can feed himself only if he fills up our shelves, not because he is going to be placed under an obligation to do this, like the collective farm was, but simply because he will not make ends meet if he does not put things on the market. [passage omitted]

Moscow Seeks To Avoid Introducing Food Coupons

PM1903135591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 91 Union Edition p 1

[Interview with V. Zhilinskiy, general director of the "Mosgortorg" Association, by correspondent V. Belikov; place, date not given; first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction: "How To Feed the Capital?"]

[Text] Groups of Moscow Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee] specialists have returned from trips to several regions of the European part of Russia to ascertain the local situation with regard to deliveries of meat, meat products, and other foodstuffs to the capital.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent talks with V. Zhilinskiy, general director of the "Mosgortorg" Association:

[Zhilinskiy] First, a few words about the situation in March with regard to supplying Moscow. It is shaping up extremely unfavorably. The city's refrigerators, designed to store a two-month supply of meat for the vast city's residents and guests, now have enough for just four or five days. Owing to a shortage of protein and vitamin supplements, poultry factories have reduced output. Unfortunately, the number of examples attesting to serious irregularities in Moscow's food supply could be increased, but I do not think there is any need for this—everyone already knows what the store shelves are like today. Here is a figure from a recent official report: There was no meat or meat products at all in 631 stores

in the capital, in other words in one-half of the entire trade network. By way of comparison: One year ago just 80-100 stores in Moscow did not trade in meat for a whole day.

[Belikov] I recall that, at a Moscow Gorispolkom session at the end of last year, you warned that things would be particularly difficult with regard to the capital's food supplies precisely in early spring. That unpleasant "prognosis" is coming true. But why?

[Zhilinskiy] This is nothing unexpected—the rich harvest was gathered just anyhow, and much of what had been grown remained in the fields. The persistent torrential rain in the fall caused feed to rot in a sizeable part of central Russia, livestock was left to overwinter without normal rations... We have heard about all this repeatedly during our recent "food-shopping" trips for Moscow.

In Tambov Oblast, for example, people admitted that they feed cattle on straw, and so they cannot bring it up to the necessary condition for delivery to Moscow's meat-processing enterprises. The inhabitants of Stavropol Kray, a very rich region, only just manage to supply a very limited range of products to their company stores which opened in Moscow 18-24 months ago. Even if there are commodity stocks of food on particular farms, especially in remote areas, the leaders prefer to exchange them directly for fuel or new equipment, for spare parts or fertilizers, not trusting the reliability of deliveries from state stocks.

[Belikov] It turns out that the "food blockade" of Moscow is real in one form or another. For the shortfall in deliveries of foodstuffs to the capital out of the stocks allocated to it amounts to tens of thousands of tonnes in the first quarter of this year alone.

[Zhilinskiy] I cannot say that we encountered anywhere a reluctance to "deal with Moscow" or a blatant refusal to fulfill earlier agreed accords on deliveries of meat, meat products, or other food resources for the capital's residents. People everywhere readily sat down at the table with us for businesslike talks and openly showed their poor oblast and kray "granaries."

Together we found a possibility to eliminate the arrears which have formed with regard to supplying city folk with agricultural products even before the end of March or at the beginning of April, taking account of the fact that Moscow, despite the difficulties, is honoring in full all its pledges for the production of industrial products and consumer goods for the all-Union stocks.

Confidence that it will be possible to obtain all the food agreed for the city in the first quarter over the next two or three weeks is reinforced by reports just received from Odessa, Riga, and Klaipeda. Five refrigerated ships have arrived in those ports with imported meat that has been purchased. Incidentally, the volume of deliveries of this kind has in recent years traditionally amounted to approximately one-third of the food consumed by Moscow. Contracts had also been concluded for this year, but they began to operate only very recently, when the currency to pay for them was found.

[Belikov] In conclusion, a question about the possible introduction of food coupons.

[Zhilinskiy] Coupons have been printed and distributed to rayon soviet executive committees. The following norms are envisaged per person per month: 1.5 kg of meat, 1 kg of sausages or meat products, 1 kg of groats, and 500 grams of butter. All products at state prices. I can state quite definitely that trade in exchange for coupons will not be introduced in March. We will endeavor to avoid it during the subsequent months, too, although we have already made all the necessary preparations to introduce them.

Russian CP's Polozkov Concludes Murmansk Tour

PM1903154991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 91 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent A. Minayev: "What the Northerners Have To Say"]

[Text] Murmansk Oblast—On Saturday 16 March, I.K. Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party Central Committee, ended his week-long stay in Murmansk Oblast. The program was a very busy one. He had to work 14-16 hours a day.

Wherever the Russian Communist Party leader went (and there were meetings at livestock units on Arctic sovkhozes, at shops in leading enterprises of the Kola peninsula, with sailors, troops, and the population of remote garrisons, at party organizations, and with journalists from all the media) he was showered with urgent, pressing questions.

I.K. Polozkov had to spend a very long time explaining to Communists and working people and to the oblast party and economic aktiv why, for example, the Yavlinskiy-Shatalin program, known by the title "500 days," was not feasible in our actual economic and political conditions. Its biggest flaw, in the opinion of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, is that it is based not on ways of producing food and goods at state production facilities but on ways of taking them away from the state and splitting them up.

The inhabitants of the harsh Arctic area share the Russian Communists' view that it is necessary to strengthen the USSR and stabilize the great power's political and economic life.

On the morning of 17 March, I.K. Polozkov returned to Moscow from the Arctic.

Silayev Receives European Bank President

LD1403223991 Moscow TASS in English 1033 GMT 14 Mar 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—"I have no doubt that the forthcoming March 17 all-Union referendum will result in an affirmative answer to the question of whether the Union should or should not be," Russian Federation Prime Minister Ivan Silayev said today during a meeting with Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), who is currently in Moscow on an official visit at the invitation of USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov.

For his part, Jacques Attali pointed out that Western Europe expects much from the stabilisation of the situation in the Soviet Union. Cooperation within the EBRD framework depends on that, Attali said.

The European Bank for the Reconstruction and Development was founded in January 1990. It cooperates with other international monetary institutions to promote investment and market economies in Central and Eastern Europe.

Silayev told Attali that several largest Soviet republics, including Russia, support the Union of sovereign states. The centre supports a Union of sovereign republics. This is the key difference in relations between the republics and the centre, Silayev said.

In a new Union, central authorities should have control over the Army, the energy sector, including nuclear energy, railway transport, several other industries and foreign policy. Republics should have control over economic and social issues, Silayev said.

He told Attali about the Russian Government programme for the transition to a market and privatisation plans.

The two also discussed areas in which the bank could help the republic, including consumer goods production and facilties to process farm products.

Attali took a keen interest in the future "architecture" of the Union and the country's further development.

Attali said he saw no differences in the approaches of the centre and Russian authorities, after meeting President Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov the day before.

Premier Silayev Meets With Hyundai Executives

PM1903124591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, on 13 March met with Chong Chu-yong, honorary chairman of the Hyundai Corporation, and Yi Min-pak, president of the corporation.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers Information Department reported that ways to further expand mutually advantageous economic ties between the Russian Federation and the Hyundai Corporation were discussed.

RSFSR-Greece Economic Agreements Denied

LD1403185191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 14 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Malyshev]

[Text] Athens, 14 Mar (TASS)—No direct agreements have been concluded on economic ties between Russia and Greece. The existence of such agreements was mentioned in particular by Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, in his questions and answers article published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. The TASS correspondent was informed about this at the USSR Embassy in Athens.

There are several contracts between the Russian Main Trading Directorate and Greek firms, but they could not be called agreements. Andrey Fedotov, RSFSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, visited Greece last year, but he did not sign any agreements in Athens.

Western Republics

Joint Communique Ensures Borders

AU1903125191 Prague CTK in English 1820 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Kiev March 15 (CTK correspondent)— Visiting Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar met here today with his Ukrainian counterpart Vitold Fokin to discuss development of cooperation free from ideology, military or political interests, and built on the basis of mutual advantage.

The two premiers voiced interest in immediate barter trade. Fokin did not rule out the creation of a Slovak-Ukrainian commercial bank.

Meciar and Fokin signed a joint communique at the end of their talks, stressing that the existing border between the Slovak Republic and the Ukraine is and will be inviolable.

Paper Ordered To Retract Gromov Claim

PM1903163591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 91 Union Edition p 8

[N. Burbyga report: "General Gromov Has Won His Case"]

[Text] A court has ordered the youth newspaper KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA [Komsomol Banner] to publish a retraction within a month.

While he was still commander of the Kiev Military District, Colonel General B. Gromov filed a suit at Kiev's Radyanskiy Rayon People's Court against the editorial office of the republic youth newspaper KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA and USSR People's Deputy Colonel V. Martirosyan, who in an interview published in the newspaper numbered Col. Gen. Gromov among those who are allegedly prepared to carry out a military coup.

The court has pronounced judgment—it has deemed the allegation to be untrue and has ordered the newspaper to publish a retraction accordingly.

Student Challenges Ukraine Premier for Seat

PM1903165591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 91 p 1

[K. Belyaninov report: "Nobody Wanted To Elect"]

(Text] Oles Doniy, the leader of the Ukrainian Student Union and one of the organizers of the student hunger strike in October, who until recently was under investigation, will soon have every opportunity to speak out "in the name of and on behalf of the working class." After the criminal case brought against him by the Kiev prosecutor's office (see KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA for 29 January 1991) was dropped, Oles was nominated as a candidate for Ukrainian people's deputy by the Kiev radio plant collective.

The contended deputy's seat belonged at one time to V. Ivashko, former chairman of the republic supreme soviet and now deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and not one of the repeat elections [pereby-boryy]—there have been four of them—has yet been crowned with success. The rivals of the fifth-year student from Kiev University History Faculty include a cooperative member, a lawyer, a local prison staffer, and the republic's prime minister.

"There are no fundamental differences of opinion between me and my rivals," Oles maintains.

However, Oles is now setting out his program only in leaflet form. The Darnitskiy Rayon enterprises administration refuses to let the student leader meet with voters, and the republic press prefers to report Ukrainian Prime Minister V. Fokin's program.

Ukraine's Kravchuk Receives Consul Generals

LD1603210391 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, met with consul general, of foreign countries in Kiev. Our correspondent Oles Bedzyk reports.

[Bedzyk] Leonid Kravchuk greeted leaders of 10 general consulates. The newly appointed U.S. consul general came to the meeting as well. There was no preplanned agenda. Naturally, everyone was interested in Ukrainian sovereignty, political and economic collisions, stabilization, and prospects of developing international contacts. Leonid Kravchuk said in particular:

[begin Kravchuk recording] I am very much satisfied with the fact that we have an opportunity to meet in such composition, with the consul generals of the countries which are represented in the Ukraine. We deem this to be an appropriate attitude to the Ukraine now since its declaration has been adopted. It shows precisely in the development of our contacts, both diplomatic and consular, because the Ukraine really intends to do everything to occupy a proper place in the European process.

In the draft union treaty it is stated that all republics establish direct diplomatic, consular, economic, and other contacts with countries of the world. And it is stated clearly in our Ukrainian state sovereignty declaration that the Ukraine, as a member of the United Nations, forms and will continue to form all those relations with countries of the world which correspond to our interests. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Bedzyk] Leonid Kravchuk then answered questions asked by the consul generals. Andras Paldi, doyen of the consular corps from Hungary, was interested to know about the draft union treaty. Leonid Kravchuk noted that he voted against the publishing of the draft before it was examined by the republics' legislatures, which had to give the right for such promulgation, because the Ukrainian legislature and the legislatures of other republics could change radically many things in the document. There is a big difference between the sovereignty declaration and the draft union treaty. Particularly, the issues of ownership, system of taxation, structure of government, judicial structure and joint powers of the Ukraine and the union have not been settled. Leonid Kravchuk stresed, as regards the expediency of holding the all-union referendum, that the referendum, in his view, is untimely, because it does not decide anything. It is a necessary thing to learn the opinion of the people. Besides, the referendum can hardly be called an all-union one, because six republics refused to hold it. The main thing is the preparation of the union treaty, according to the principles one has to live by.

Graf von Bassewitz, consul general of the FRG, was interested in the situation in Lvov oblast. Leonid Kravchuk said that the Communist Party has suffered a defeat in Lvov oblast, the opposition legally came to power. The legal government has to be respected and the communists have to find their place near that government. The united efforts of the three western Ukrainian oblasts should be directed at economic problems—not at the desire to create new political structures.

Hugues Bernet, the French consul general, asked about ways of settling the problems in Donbass concerning

with the strikes. Leonid Kravchuk said that currently there was no money to meet the miners' demands. Thirteen billion rubles was apportioned from the republican budget for the needs of miners.

Leonid Kravchuk noted in conclusion that the Ukraine was for widening relations with all countries on the basis of equal rights and mutual benefit. [passage omitted]

Gurenko Attends Kiev MD Conference

PM1903132991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

[UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent N. Zaika report under the rubric "Official": "To Rally the Ranks"]

[Text] The 34th Kiev Military District party conference was held 15 March, discussing the results of the transformation of party structures within the troops and communists' tasks stemming from the contemporary situation.

The conference was addressed by S.I. Gurenko, member of the CSPU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Kiev Ministers, Slovak Delegates Confer

LD1503204391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] [Announcer] Today, at the end of its stay in the Soviet Union, the Slovak Republic Government delegation held talks with Vitold Fokin, Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers chairman. Our special correspondent has more detail about the Kiev talks.

The range of issues discussed was very wide and I will therefore start right from the beginning, as it were. As far as Chernobyl is concerned, the Ukrainians thanked us for the relief we are giving, but would like it to be channelled via state bodies because in other instances goods mostly get into the hands of middlemen and are supplied to the black market.

As far as the regionalization of Europe is concerned, a united Europe will possibly look different in the years to come. Vitold Fokin, Ukrainian Council of Ministers chairman, expressed interest in closer cooperation on some Pentagonale projects even with the possible future direct involvement of the Ukraine in this Central European association. It is estimated that approximately 8,000 Slovaks live in the Ukraine. We offered to look after them by supplying them with books, newspapers, and other publications in Slovak with the premise that the same possibilities exist for Kiev with regard to the Ukrainians living in Slovakia. As direct neighbors we have joint state borders which will not be changed, according to the view of both sides. Although there are calls on both sides to revise the borders, they do not represent a political force of great importance.

In the finance sphere the Ukrainian side did not rule out the possibility of forming a Slovak-Ukrainian bank. It did not show interest in entering a Russian-Slovak bank. Commercial cooperation should be carried out, even in this case, on the basis of goods exchanged, or swapped—the so-called barter exchange. The offer of our side is rich, ranging from machinery right up to textiles and footwear. The Ukraine has so far been offering mainly raw materials but would also like to supply us with manufactured goods later. Details will be settled by commissions of experts that will meet on a joint session within two weeks. [passage omitted]

Belorussian Leaders' Privileges End

PM1803143591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by Colonel A. Smolyanko: "Left Without Privileges"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet after lengthy debate has adopted a resolution on the elimination of privileges for the republic's leading workers. It repeals all previously adopted decisions and legally binding acts that directly or indirectly ensure privileges for the nomenklatura. First of all the sanatoriums, boarding houses, rest homes, government residences, and other establishments must be transferred to the ministries of health and social security for the treatment of war and labor veterans, sick children, and those who suffered from the Chernobyl disaster.

The same resolution has suspended the leasing of special passenger cars, has reduced by 200 the number of automobiles at the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, that will then be distributed equally between the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Health, and has cancelled all diplomatic passports for people who travel abroad other than on assignments from the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The use of KGB staffers as guards for the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary or for any measures whatsoever carried out by public organizations has been suspended.

Caucasus

Reportage Updates Ossetian-Georgian Violence

'Extremists' Increase Attacks

AU1903160491 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1415 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] As reported by the press center of the Georgian Interior Ministry, on the evening of 18 March, Ossetian extremists began wide-scale attacks against Georgian militia posts and villages inhabited by Georgians. Rockets were fired on the [words indistinct] situated south of Tskhinvali, [words indistinct], the villages of

Tamarasheni, Kekhvi, and [name indistinct]. The bandit attack against the village of [name indistinct] in the [name indistinct] rayon continued throughout the night. According to preliminary data, there were no casualties.

TASS Reports 4-Day Clash

LD1903175691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1642 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (TASS)—Individual clashes between pickets from illegal armed Georgian formations and Ossetian elements have turned into true combat situations. As reported today to TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev at the press center of the extraordinary committee of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet chairman, an intense exchange of fire has been going on for four days now in the vicinity of Tskhinvali (the administrative center of South Ossetia). Both sides are using automatic weapons grenade launchers. Some inhabitants have been serverely wounded.

The oblast hospital was fired on today by unknown sources and a nurse and nine-year-old boy were severely wounded.

Georgian militants made several attempts to break through into Tskhinvali, but were stopped. Today, on the outskirts of the village of Eredvi, they seized a bus carrying 25 Ossetians. All of them were taken hostage to an unknown destination.

The list of victims of the senseless armed conflict continues to grow. According to information from the North Ossetian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], four Georgians were killed and several Ossetians wounded during a clash on a road near the village of Tamarashni in Tskhinvalskiy Rayon. Deaths in other rayons in the oblast also have been confirmed.

Electricity has again not been supplied to Taskhinvali from the unified Georgian system for several days. As before, the situation regarding food, water and medicines is critical. Food and medicines are being supplied to Tskhinvalis only by helicopter.

All roads leading to Tskhinvali are blocked. Repair work on the Dzhava-Tskhinvali road and on two exploded bridges, which was being carried out by engineers from the USSR MVD troops, has been halted under pressure from pickets.

Fighting continued all night near the village of Zemo Nikoza in Georgia's Gori Rayon, TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov was told at the Georgian MVD press center. The MVD press center also reports that according to G. Epitashvili, commandant of the state-of-emergency zone, a state motor vehicle inspectorate post where a Georgian militia headquarters is located was attacked by seven unguided missiles not far from Tskhinvali last night. A Kamaz truck was also fired on and set afire by unknown attackers, killing four and injuring two.

According to the latest reports from the South Ossetian Oblast organizational committee for the all-Union referendum, it has been established that more than 80 percent of the adult population of Tskhinvali took part in the 17 March poll. Of these, 95.5 percent voted for the preservation of the Union.

Temporary Cease-Fire Agreed

LD2003123591 Berlin ADN in German 1129 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—The hostile armed groups in the Georgian crisis area of South Ossetia agreed to a temporary cease-fire on Tuesday. The independent Moscow news agency INTERFAX reports that the agreement between the Georgian and Ossetian paramilitary units was negotiated at a meeting mediated by the Soviet Interior Ministry. [passage omitted]

Adzhar Supreme Soviet Chairman Resigns

LD1903230591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1758 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Batumi, 19 Mar (TASS)—An extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Adzhar Autonomous Republic, which is a part of Georgia, has agreed to the resignation request of Tengiz Khakhva, the legislature's chairman.

His departure, as observers believe, has been caused by his disagreement with the political course of the present Georgian leadership. The fact that at a news conference 10 days ago Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, called the head of Adzharia's legislature "the agent of the Kremlin" indicates the nature of mutual relations between Tengiz Khakhva and Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

Gamsakhurdia Addresses Media 23 Feb

AU1803060191 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 26 Feb 91 pp 1,2

[News conference conducted by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, to Georgian and foreign reporters in the Georgian Government building on 23 February]

[Text] [Ninua, RESPUBLIKA] Mr. Zviad, a hundred days have passed since you were elected by the Georgian people as their leader. What can you say, today, in connection with the period that has passed? To what degree have your political forecasts come true and how do you view the Republic of Georgia's future, taking into account the period that has passed?

[Gamsakhurdia] I would like to say that, from the start, it has become clear that the center has reacted very strongly to those processes taking place in Georgia. It can be said that the center has directly declared war on us. It

has done so using all available means: a blockade, in particular, an electric power and food blockade, internal destabilization, the mobilization of its agents here, and the intensification of actions directed against us. This is absolutely obvious. At each step, we are encountering a situation that resembles a civil war. This is particularly the case in Samachablo [South Ossetia]. In these conditions, everything that we are planning for the good of the people and with regard to an improvement in social and economic conditions and the establishment of peace in the republic is being implemented with great difficulty because the empire has mobilized itself against Georgia, in particular its propaganda machine, and this is having far-reaching results and aims. Unfortunately, it has to be said that a part of our society supports these imperial forces and, together with them, is trying to destabilize the situation and is preventing us, in every way possible, from implementing changes for the good of the Georgian nation. As you know, our legislative actions are aimed at serving the interests of our nation, establishing peace, and restoring Georgian independence. But it is precisely this that does not suit the center and, at the same time, this does not suit a specific degenerative section of our society, mafia forces, corrupt elements, and the pseudo-opposition. This is the situation in Georgia. One can say that they are hindering us greatly. Therefore, no real and beneficial changes are noticeable at present and it is not a good thing if things continue in this way.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. Zviad, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on South Ossetia has been published in IZVESTIYA. Could you please say a few words about this and, also, about the fact that the Union legislature and the Russian legislature hold different positions in connection with this question.

[Gamsakhurdia] I can. This resolution is completely invalid and illegal, given the fact that the declaration of a state of emergency throughout Samachablo will not resolve the Tskhinvali problem and the problem of curbing the Ossetian extremists. It is directed against the Georgian nation and the Georgians living in this region and strengthens the positions of the Ossetian extremists. Furthermore, it could lead to an escalation of the conflict throughout Georgia in those places where Ossetians also live. As you know, there are many such regions. This is what we said to Voronin, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers who came here. We explained and substantiated all this to him. He really seemed to give the matter some thought but, we do not know what their position will subsequently be. He then went to Tskhinvali and has now flown back to Moscow. However, the main thing that we should know, and it is better to know the truth rather than to lie to ourselves, is that the so-called South Ossetian conflict is, in reality, a war that is being waged by the center and the Ossetians against Georgia and the Georgian people. This is no ethnic conflict. This is a punitive operation conducted by the center, the aim of which is to separate the whole of this region from Georgia. This is already being planned. Now, it has been proposed to us that we introduce a state of emergency within three days. Of course, we shall not do this. Thereafter, a presidential decree will probably be issued and, without our knowledge, a state of emergency will be introduced and, as happened in Nagorno-Karabakh, the whole of this territory will be isolated from Georgia. This means that Georgia will lose all this territory. This is the center's aim and, in order to attain it, it is fighting with all the means at its disposal, in particular, by using propaganda. Disinformation has been spread among a certain section of society. Of course, this will have a catastrophic result. Naturally, we will not fail to respond to this. The Georgian nation will react very strongly. I repeat that the center's plan is to separate Samachablo from Georgia. This is its main aim. As regards the USSR Supreme Soviet, it is well known to everyone what forces prevail there; they are following this imperialist course. Naturally, they have their supporters but a specific section of the Russian Supreme Soviet can see this injustice and is more inclined to support us. Yesterday, for example, a press conference was held by Ossetians in Moscow. It was organized by General Tsagolov, the leader of the extremists, who now passes himself off as a professor and has grown a beard to look like Leo Tolstoy. He is in charge of the terrorist bands and sends saboteurs to Samachablo. In Moscow, he was trying to play the role of the great peace advocate but Ossetian refugees from Samachablo arrived and, to all intents and purposes, wrecked the news conference and exposed Tsagolov and his band so that they were unable to deceive the public. This explains why, yesterday, Vremya had relatively little to say regarding this matter and the media also conducted themselves more or less correctly. However this, of course, does not interest the center. The center has its aim. This is to punish us, to punish us because we are struggling for independence and will not sign the Union treaty. This is why the center is using Samachablo. This is the situation.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. Zviad, we, of course, know that the events of the last few days (by which I mean the isolation of members of the Mkhedrioni), if I can put it this way, represent the position of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, I am interested in knowing the position of the Supreme Soviet with regard to these events and what you can tell us about them.

[Gamsakhurdia] I can tell you that there is not one state, not one democratic state that tolerates terrorism. Terrorism is condemned by international law and by all states, even by totalitarian states and even by the Soviet Union. Terrorism is completely outlawed in any lawful state. The freedom to indulge in terrorism does not exist anywhere and this opinion prevails throughout the whole world. It is only in Georgia that a certain section of our degenerate intelligentsia has cast doubt upon this truth and has formed an alliance with these bands and is calling for the release of these terrorists claiming that such actions are antidemocratic. This is wholly intolerable and outrageous and we will expose such things; we will reveal and prove that it is Moscow that is controlling these degenerate representatives of the intelligentsia and

we will also soon expose those under whose instigation these terrorist bands, the so-called Mkhedrioni, are operating in Georgia. We will also prove that the Shavnabada incident was planned, that this was staged in Georgia as an armed uprising. What is the center's aim, friends? The center wants to see an armed uprising in Georgia; it wants certain forces to launch a direct attack upon the Soviet Army in Georgia and a conflict to ensue so that, then, the center can despatch large forces here and declare a curfew and state of emergency throughout Georgia. The so-called Mkhedrioni bands are helping the center greatly in this. It happened in Shavnabada and this was the beginning. If we had not arrested the leaders of this band, it is possible that we could have had a state of emergency throughout Georgia. You understand, this was the danger threatening Georgia. However, fortunately, we avoided this in time. If the center isn't planning something new—as we can see, their last hope now rests with Samachablo—we will no doubt overcome this danger as well.

[Kenchoshvili—THE GEORGIAN MESSENGER] Mr. Zviad, is there any data to show that such formations as the Mkhedrioni and the congress movement, in general, have the support of a certain percentage of the population? The name congress sounds very grandiose and we really should know if this is the case. My second question is as follows: Do you expect that, when the war with Iraq is over, Moscow will adopt a more cautious approach toward Georgia?

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course, it will be more cautious and it is precisely on account of the war with Iraq that such a situation has been created; the center tried, so to speak, to curb the Baltic republics under cover of the war with Iraq and it is now doing the same thing in Georgia, in so-called South Ossetia. As regards the congress and the Mkhedrioni, they are supported by a tiny section of the Georgian population that is probably equivalent to less than 1 percent. We will prove this in a referendum. We will conduct a poll in order to find out what percentage voted for the so-called National Congress and we will confirm that these were rigged elections and will expose all those who really did participate in them. You will be convinced that the figure does not amount to one hundreth percent of the Georgian population. This is the first thing.

Second, you should know that the so-called congress and the parties united within it are traitors of our national movement and this is why: From the beginning, as you know, our movement has been a peaceful one without arms of any kind and the very concept of our movement has been that of peaceful political struggle. This was the concept that was preached by Mahatma Gandhi in India and also by Lech Walesa in Poland and this was the reason why our movement was strong; the greatest moral strength of our movement lay in this fact. It was this moral force that was victorious after 9 April. In spite of the fact that, on 9 April, the Army was used to carry out a pogrom against us, our victory was a moral one. We had neither a single knife nor a single weapon; we were completely unarmed and, in the eyes of the world, this was the greatest victory. The Kremlin saw this, friends, and it also saw the serious danger that our peaceful political movement represented and decided, through its own agents, to divert our movement onto the path of armed struggle and an armed uprising because, then, it could easily defeat it. This obvious truth, as we can see, became clear to the Kremlin following the events of 9 April and it began to intensively concern itself with establishing armed groups within our movement using its own agents and it achieved this as well. It is precisely this that proves that the Kremlin's agents are supporting the congress as the latter, today, already r`lies on armed forces and illegal armed formations. The parties united within the congress are no longer standing on the path of peaceful political struggle but on that of armed terror and an armed uprising as they and, in particular, Chanturia's party, have become united with the Mkhedrioni and there is no difference between them; these are armed terrorist bands that are carrying out terrorist acts throughout Georgia: They are attacking the militia, town dwellers, and political opponents. This is the Kremlin's greatest victory, friends. Why are the congress parties standing on this path? Because they do not have the support of the people and want, by means of terror and armed force, to implant their own ideas and compel the people to support them. This, friends, is the main misfortune and the congress's betrayal of the national movement lies in this fact. Hence, the entire Georgian people must unite in order to sever these traitors from the nation, traitors who are leading the Georgian nation to ruin. We will not allow this force to operate and the anarchy that we have had up to now to continue in Georgia. This is not tolerated in any democratic state, friends, and nowhere are armed bands allowed to threaten the population and state and attack the militia, prefects, and others. Thus, the activities of the congress are already absolutely identical with the activities of the Mkhedrioni whereas it is the Kremlin and Moscow that are behind all this; their ultimate aim is to suppress and crush the national movement in Georgia.

[Sikharulidze, SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA] Mr. Zviad, signatures are being collected in Tbilisi for a petition demanding the release of Jaba Ioseliani on bail. How would you assess this fact? One other question. At this moment, a meeting organized by the National Independence Party is taking place near the cinema house, demanding the withdrawal of the forces of occupation from Georgia. What is your position on this?

[Gamsakhurdia] Yes, these signatures demanding the release of terrorists—this is the greatest manifestation of immorality. However, I also do not exclude the fact that these signatures are being obtained by means of intimidation and terror. A certain section of the population is afraid of them. Therefore, I am not suprised by this but this is of no importance. The moral character of such people is obvious. As regards the meeting, I consider it to be a provocative act. The center wants to prove that an armed uprising is taking place in Georgia, that troops are

being attacked, and so forth. I consider any kind of provocation to be foolhardy. The withdrawal of the forces of occupation is essential but this should take place by peaceful means, on the basis of international law and not as a result of hooligan attacks on troops and the Soviet Army. This can only have negative results.

[Popkhadze, Radio Liberty, Georgian section] Mr. Zviad, forgive me but I have a cascade of questions—six of them; for different reasons, I have not had the opportunity to meet and interview you for a long time and, so, forgive my asking you a lot of questions. My first question is as follows: What plans does the Georgian legislature have regarding resolving the conflict in Samachablo? My second question. Certain political circles are accusing the Georgian Supreme Soviet of standing on the path of dictatorship. As an example of this, they cite the introduction of the institution of prefects. What reply would you give to this opposition statement? My third question. Certain political circles and the foreign mass media have declared the members of the Mkhedrioni and its chairman, Jaba Ioseliani, to be political prisoners. In your opinion, are there political prisoners in Georgia? My fourth question. The situation in Abkhazia is such...

[Gamsakhurdia] Hold on. You can't ask 15 questions at once. If you don't mind, ask me the question that you consider to be the most important and we will answer it. This is the first thing. Second, I have declared a boycott of the Georgian section of Radio Liberty because it is involved in treacherous activities but I will answer you personally. However, I insist that nothing that I say be transmitted on Radio Liberty as it is standing on the path of treason.

With reference to the programs transmitted by Radio Liberty's Georgian section, Mr. Zviad Gamsakhurdia pointed out that Giuli Antelava and Tavkhelidze were, in particular, responsible for disseminating propaganda materials and disinformation. For example: Recently, it was reported that, apparently, an attack was launched under the leadership of a Supreme Soviet deputy, Chulok'avi on the headquarters of the National Democratic Party [NDP]. There is no deputy of that name. What really happened is as follows: Some NDP members hijacked an automobile belonging to the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet garage manager (!), Ch'ulok'ava (he has no official status) came to the NDP headquarters in order to retrieve the car but he was beaten up and weapons were confiscated from the few guardsmen who were with him. This was what really happened whereas the correspondents deliberately broadcast disinformation. Legal proceedings will be instituted against them for this slander.

[Popkhadze] Then, my question will proceed along two lines. First, what plans does the supreme soviet have with regard to resolving the conflict and with regard to political prisoners?

[Gamsakhurdia] Unfortunately, all attempts to resolve the conflict have been exhausted. We have tried to reach an agreement. We have met with representatives of the governing body and the intelligentsia in Tskhinvali but they, apparently, can exert no influence upon the extremists. The one thing left for us is to protect our people and not allow the state of emergency to be imposed throughout Samachablo and try to get the center to change its mind with regard to the implementation of this decision. This is all that is left for us. As regards political prisoners, I will repeat once more that theft, robbery, and the stealing of weapons and automobiles are not political crimes. It is true that they are trying to justify their actions politically but these are ordinary criminal offenses. Therefore, I would not call them political terrorists. You know, they are simply being used by certain forces from the center. Their crimes are ordinary criminal offenses such as racketeering, automobile theft, kidnapping people and then demanding a ransom from relatives, attacks on the militia, and stealing weapons. Hence, these are, in no way, political crimes. This is how I would answer your question. Moreover, it suits Chanturia and the others to see the members of the Mkhedrioni wearing the crown of political prisoners. They are being registered as members of their parties so that they can be called political prisoners. Individuals who have been arrested for theft and robbery are declared as members of the NDP. Incidentally, many members of their parties are also being arrested for robbery, theft, and so forth. No one should be under the illusion that being a member of the NDP gives one the right to indulge in robbery, theft, and kidnapping. Today, it is not so easy to deceive people who are now aware of what is going on.

[Macharashvili, RESPUBLIKA] Mr. Zviad, I would like to return to the conflict in Shida Kartli [area of Georgia historically comprising six regions into which Samachablo has now been reincorporated by the Georgian government] if you don't mind. Yesterday, at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, representatives of North Ossetia delivered a statement addressed to Boris Yeltsin calling upon him to meet with the Georgian authorities on neutral territory close to the borders of Georgia and find a solution to the complex situation that has been created in so-called South Ossetia. What can this bring?

[Gamsakhurdia] Talks concerning a meeting between us and Yeltsin have been going on for quite a long time. However, I don't know, either Yeltsin is afraid of the center or he is having second thoughts about coming to Tbilisi. The meeting could take place elsewhere. We believe it could be held in a place where it would be more expedient but, as yet, this question has not been resolved. I'm sure this meeting will be held soon and the problems in Ossetia will be discussed.

[Radio Estonia] Mr. Zviad, allow me to ask you the following question: A year ago, in an interview that you gave to Radio Estonia, you compared the situation that had been created in Georgia with the events that had

taken place in the Baltic republics. Could you give an analogy with regard to current events?

[Gamsakhurdia] The Baltic republics are being punished because they are struggling for their independence. Military force is being used against them. In the same way, military force is also being used against Georgia. The center is struggling against Georgia, relying on its own forces and the Ossetian extremists but they are making it look as if it is an ethnic conflict. It is only in this respect that there is a difference between what is occurring here and in the Baltic republics. There is no other difference. You have got the Interfront whereas we have the Ossetian extremists whom the center is using in the struggle against us. This is the main thing that one can say about this.

[Radio Estonia] Mr. Zviad, the public has read with great satisfaction your address to the Chechen and Ingush peoples that was published in the press the other day. What relations is the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia establishing with neighboring peoples and republics?

[Gamsakhurdia] We have relations with the legislatures of Armenia and Azerbaijan and also with representatives of Chechen-Ingushetiya and we are trying to establish good mutual understanding and avoid conflicts everywhere. The conflict with the Ossetians is not our fault. It has been instigated by the center. The center has arranged for certain extremist circles to operate here, circles that are being used by Moscow. Suffice it to say that, according to recently published information, Chochiev is a colonel in the Moscow KGB and Kulumbegov is a colleague of Kryuchkov and an employee in the Moscow KGB. This has been confirmed by a secret coded message that the internal troops received from Moscow in which they have been ordered to secure the release of Kulumbegov by any means and take him to Moscow. That is to say, the troops have been ordered to do this. Therefore, it is Moscow's agents who are provoking the ethnic conflict. Fortunately, we do not have such "ethnic conflicts" with either the Chechens or the Ingush. Our relations with them are good. Incidentally, the Abkhazians are trying to unite the peoples of the North Caucasus against us but nothing will come of this as neither the Chechens nor the Ingush will allow it. The Abkhazians'attempt to create a so-called mountain republic with its center in Sokhumi will also fail. It will fail as a result of the efforts of the Chechens and the Ingush.

[SOVETSKIY VOIN] Mr. Chairman, have you examined the question of the official status of the troops of the Transcaucasian Military District [MD] on the territory of Georgia? If so, what was the center's reaction and if not, what are your intentions with regard to this?

[Gamsakhurdia] Unfortunately, this question, as yet, has not been raised. The point is that, in order to do this, the necessary preparation has to be made and we do not have the opportunity to do this as a result of the present events in Georgia. However, of course, this question will be clarified on the basis of international law.

[Koridze, 7 DGE] At both news conferences following your victory in the elections, you pointed out that, at one of its first sessions, the Supreme Soviet would examine the question regarding those people who were unable to become deputies but whose presence in the legislature would be of use to the common cause and would introduce them into its ranks by means of co-optation. Since then, this question has not been raised at all in the Supreme Soviet. What was the reason for your making this statement and, if you still adhere to this viewpoint today, what is preventing its implementation?

[Gamsakhurdia] You know, unfortunately, it turned out that, during elaboration of the Law on Elections, this question was not envisaged. Therefore, this is impossible from the legal point of view. It is impossible because it is not provided for in the Law on Elections although it is something that we wanted. You know under what conditions we drew up the Law on Elections. To all intents and purposes, we were in a state of war; we had industrial strikes and hunger strikes. The situation was very tense. Therefore, we overlooked this nuance.

[Koridze] If I may ask you a second question that is connected with the introduction of the institution of prefects. The introduction of this institution has made the situation acute in certain regions and also in Abkhazia, in Gali rayon. In addition to this, Ardzinba, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia, has suspended the Law on the Sakrebulo ["assemblies"—the name of the new organs of local government, elections to which will be held on 31 March]. A section of the liberal opposition are also not in favor of participating in the elections to the sakrebulo. What interests me is whether the institution of prefects will not hinder the elections to the sakrebulo in Georgia.

[Gamsakhurdia] Whoever says that the institution of prefects is undemocratic is an ignoramus, a simple ignoramus. These people do not know that this institution exists in such democratic countries as France and Italy. Moreover, Italian journalists who were recently in Georgia said that they were amazed that people had been given the right to demonstrate over the appointment of prefects and that it was impossible to imagine such a thing happening in their country. They said that they were surprised at the level of democracy here and at the fact that it was possible to stage demonstrations over the appointment of prefects and that the wishes of the people were taken into account. Almost in all cases, we take account of the wishes of the people; we conduct an opinion poll and then we appoint the prefect. That is to say, this is, to all intents and purposes, our electoral duty. As regards opposition connected with the appointment of prefects, this has been organized by the so-called NDP and the Mkhedrioni bands. This was an obstruction that was not supported by the people.

[Unidentified English reporter] Is there a danger of direct pressure being applied from the center and presidential rule being introduced?

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course, the threat from Moscow exists. Considerable pressure could well be applied because we are struggling for independence and Moscow, precisely by means of the so-called South Ossetian conflict, is getting ready to intervene throughout the whole of Georgia and to introduce presidential rule and a state of emergency throughout the country. However, the center wants to do this gradually as it cannot be done immediately. According to the latest information, today, about 400 assault troops have been brought into Abkhazia. Of course, this is a very ominous sign. The assault troops have arrived in Babushera ostensibly to renovate a country house. However, this is very dubious. They must be pursuing some other aim.

[Unidentified English reporter] Will you arrest Giorgi Chanturia?

[Gamsakhurdia] As regards Gia Chanturia, his actions no longer ressemble those of a politician. He has linked himself with the Mkhedrioni bands. His party is armed to the teeth and is committing criminal acts. Its members have been arrested for theft, robbery, and stealing automobiles. The distinction between his party's members and the Mkhedrioni is becoming increasingly more blurred. Therefore, we can no longer call such people politicians. As for being arrested, any individual who commits a criminal offense, including me, has to punished by law. A person cannot be pardoned for committing a criminal offense simply because he is the leader of some party or other. This is absurd, friends. It turns out that specific crimes are being concealed under the mask of politics. No party can save a person from being brought to account if he has committed a certain crime.

[Unidentified English reporter] In the interview that you gave last Thursday, you stated that you would reach an agreement with the legislature of Abkhazia concerning the appointment of prefects. As I have learnt from the central press, something happened in Gali Rayon. Could you shed some light on these events?

[Gamsakhurdia] If Abkhazia does not present us with its candidates for the posts of prefect, we will appoint them. Unfortunately, Ardzinba, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia, in spite of the fact that he is a member of the Presidium, has given us no response at all and has not come to Tbilisi. It is precisely for this reason that we were obliged to appoint a prefect. This was done according to the law. According to the law, an autonomous republic has the right to nominate a candidate for the post of prefect but if it does not do this, it is we who appoint him. Therefore, there is nothing to discuss here.

[Unidentified reporter] The cutting off of electric power to South Ossetia is considered to be an infringement of human rights. How would you, as a universally acknowledged champion of human rights, explain this action?

[Gamsakhurdia] What do you think, is the right to strike prohibited by the Helsinki process? The electric power workers decided to go on strike and we cannot arrest them as any organization and institution has the right to strike. We do know that there are factories in Tskhinvali that are making weapons for the extremists. The electric power workers, unable to gain access there, switched off the power supply to the whole town. Furthermore, if we managed to switch the electricity back on, the population would be so incensed that it would switch it off itself. If the Ossetians were to put a halt to their terrorism and bandit attacks, life would get back to normal.

[Bakhtadze, Georgian Information Corporation MATSNE] The U.S. radio station Voice of America and SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA have issued information concerning the first planned official visit by representatives of the Georgian Government to the United States. We know very little about this. Can you tell us something new about this?

[Gamsakhurdia] At present, I have nothing new to say except that our representatives met with several congressmen and there will probably be a meeting with the vice president, Dan Quayle. This is a very difficult time with regard to visits because of what is happening in the Persian Gulf and, therefore, I don't know if the meeting with the vice president will take place.

[Varaniuk, LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA] We are interested in knowing what your attitude is to the commanding authorities of the Transcaucasian MD. In addition, how would you explain the fact that the allocation of land and accommodation to servicemen has been stopped?

[Gamsakhurdia] The point is that we are against any form of confrontation. We hold the same position as the Baltic republics. In our view, the Soviet troops are troops of occupation. However, this does not mean that we declare all of them to be our enemies. No, we are opposed to all manner of confrontation and force. From our side, we are trying not to exacerbate the situation. We know that the military units stationed in Tskhinvali have many Ossetian officers and they are directly involved in fighting with the Georgian population and they also supply the Ossetian extremists with weapons and rockets. We have warned the district's commanding authorities about this several times but we have not seen any results. In general, according to your rules, your troops should be subordinate not only to the center but also to our authorities. Therefore, I believe that, if relations are set right, there will be an improvement in the situation.

[Tsintsadze, SAKINFORM] Units of the National Guard have recently been formed. Are they taking part in operations in Shida Kartli and Samachablo along with the militia?

[Gamsakhurdia] At the moment, their number is insufficient to enable them to take part in these operations.

[Unidentified reporter] The opinion exists among the population that today's situation is very similar to that of 1921. What is your assessment?

[Gamsakhurdia] Indeed, it is similar to the situation that existed prior to 1921 because, just as the empire engaged in provocation then, so the same thing is happening now. It is also similar in that the empire had tried to find support in Georgia itself and Bolshevik Russia had tried to overthrow the existing government with the help of the treacherous Georgian Bolsheviks. The same thing is being repeated now. Today, the center is placing its reliance upon the Mkhedrioni and the congress. This is the result of the present activities of Shevardnadze and Mgeladze. The "revolutionary committee" that has been created by them in Moscow is directing the activities of the Georgian traitors.

[Unidentified reporter] What do you have to say about the non- Georgian population in Georgia? What do you think, will it be possible to direct our activities in such a way that the non- Georgian population in Georgia can become an organic part of our national liberation movement?

[Gamsakhurdia] Our aim lies in the consolidation of the Georgian population, both Georgians and non-Georgians. Their rights have never been violated in Georgia and this will continue in the future. However, if they break the law, if they appropriate land or do anything else illegally, we will oppose this. Our enemies are spreading rumors to the effect that we want to make them leave Georgia and so forth. This is gossip and lies. The non-Georgians know this and this is why there is no confrontation from their side. Of course, provided the Kremlin does not try to interfere in the matter through its agents. I would like to make the following appeal to the non-Georgian population: Let us live as friends and in peace; we will never violate your rights provided that you do not try to break the laws of the Republic of Georgia. In that case, there will be peace and we will have good relations. This is our position and the principle to which we adhere.

[Gomarteli, SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA] It is only a few days ago that the leaders of the Independent Communist Party of Georgia resigned. They accounted for their action but don't you think that there could be something else behind this? What is your opinion?

[Gamsakhurdia] I believe that they saw the unenviable position that they were in. The Georgian nation has declared them to be traitors and they are proud people. I would say that they are protecting their own authority and prestige. Margiani is not the sort of person who would systematically tolerate insults and feel comfortable in the role of traitor to his motherland. It has been directly proved that this party exists on subsidies from a foreign country and is being financed by the center. The people have called this subsidy "Judas's 30 pieces of silver" and this man did not want to be confirmed as a Judas or to have to prove that his party is a national party, that they are fighting for the interests of the nation, and so forth. At the same time, he did not want to antagonize the Supreme Soviet and not surrender his building to the Council of Ministers at a time when the commissions do not have enough rooms resulting in—to all intents and purposes—disruption. They saw all this, to explain their actions.

Armenia Rebuffs Gorbachev Appeal on NKAO

NC1903133091 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1950 GMT 18 Mar 91

["Statement issued by the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium on the 14 March 1991 appeal of the president of the Soviet Union to the people of Azerbaijan and the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh "—radio headline]

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium deems that the appeal of the president of the Soviet Union to the people of Azerbaijan and the citizens of Nagorno-Karabakh does not contain constructive ideas and spurns the Nagorno-Karabakh people's will for self-determination. Only the people living in their own historical homeland have the right to decide to which country its territory belongs.

Considering that the appeal was issued on the eve of the referendum and at a time when the Union treaty is being examined, a number of shortsighted claims by the president of the Soviet Union could bring about a situation in Azerbaijan similar to the one in Sumgait which followed Mikhail Gorbachev's 26 February 1988 appeal to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The president's violation of the right of self-determination of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh reveals the deceptiveness of the principle of the defense of human rights declared in the USSR Constitution and in the draft Union treaty.

The president's claim that the USSR Constitution is in force on the territory of the oblast is unfounded. In reality, the entire power is in the hands of the unconstitutional organ, the so-called Organizational Committee, which shows contempt towards the citizens' lives and pursues an openly anti-Armenian policy.

In assessing the president's proposal for holding democratic elections and forming lawful bodies of power, the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium also notes that the oblast's constitutional organ was illegally suspended by the central government organs in January 1989. Nagorno-Karabakh was transformed into an experimental place for undemocratic administrative bodies, whereas the Union organs of power and the Soviet president empowered with sufficient mandate had been under obligation to rectify the injustice committed.

The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium deems that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem could be

solved only in accordance with the norms of international rights and on the basis of the principle of self-determination of peoples.

Armenian Legislature Holds Extraordinary Session

LD1903145691 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan March 19 TASS—An extraordinary session of the Armenian parliament opened here today. The decision to hold it was taken on Monday night at a meeting of the presidium of the Armenian parliament in connection with the situation in the republic caused by unlawful actions of the association for national self-determination, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of the Armenian parliament said.

The association favours the rsetoration of Armenia's independence and its immediate secession from the USSR. The association is headed by People's Deputy of Armenia Paruir Airikyan whose Soviet citizenship was returned last year. He returned home after being elected to the Armenian parliament.

Acting Armenian Interior Minister Ashot Mannucharyan told the deputies that unlawful actions of the association include acts of vandalism regarding monuments in Yerevan, the seizure of the building of the Yerevan City Committee of the Armenian Communist Party and other institutions, the blockade of Armenian state television and radio and threats to check the activity of the republican television, as well as hijacks.

Mannucharyan said that the association for national self-determination was interfering with the call-up into the Soviet Army. The association's activity creates precedents for new violations of rights and destabilises the situation in the republic.

Unlawful activity of the association should be stopped, Mannucharyan said. Everybody should observe laws in conditions when a rule-of-law state is being formed.

The association's leader P. Airikyan said that he had been detained for no reason. He said that lawlessness was thus committed and a deputy's immunity violated. Parliament intends to hear explanations from the association's leaders today.

Armenian President Calls for Stabilization

LD2003000591 Moscow TASS in English 2157 GMT 19 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan March 20 TASS—Opening the afternoon session of the republican parliament, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan denied a statement by leader of the National Self-Determination Association (NSA) Paruir Airikyan [name as received] that the emergency parliament session is an act of political revenge.

Ter-Petrosyan said the session was convened in connection with concern over possible mass violations of law and order in the republic. He said the NSA favouring the restoration of Armenia's independence and immediate secession from the Soviet Union, seriously destabilised the situation in the republic, "giving grounds for outside interference".

The parliament should work out its attitude to the activities, and it is rather a preventive measure than an attempt to punish anybody, Ter-Petrosyan said. "We should do everything possible to revive the economy to stabilise the situation in Armenia," he said.

In his speech, Airikyan refuted accusations against him and his organisation. Admitting the illegal character of the seizure of the building that previously belonged to the Armenian Communist Party Yerevan City Committee, Airikyan tried to justify the action, saying that after rehabilitation, he has the right to demand that the state compensate for the loss inflicted to him by 17 years imprisonment.

Airikyan said that as the Communist Party was the ruling party in the republic then, he has the right to demand a compensation from the party.

Speaking about a call-up to the Soviet Army, Airikyan confirmed his opinion that Armenian youths should not serve in a "foreign army" and should join national Armed Forces instead.

Most speakers denounced NSA activities and disagreed with Airikyan's explanations. Deputies noted the need to take joint efforts to ensure stability and order in the republic.

[Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 19 March, during its regularly scheduled "Vremya" newscast, carries the following report:

"Some of the deputies, and first and foremost (Paruir Airikyan), the leader of the NSA and well-known defender of rights, tried to appraise today's session as some kind of political trial of an unwelcome, more radical and independent organization. The majority of parliamentarians were inclined to consider the actions of the NSA as destabilizing and requiring serious condemnation, especially now, in a period of preparation for the republican referendum in Armenia on the question of leaving the structure of the USSR. Today the extraordinary meeting of the Armenian Supreme Soviet ended. A resolution was adopted on the question that was discussed."]

Armenia Issues Warning to Self-Determination Group

LD2003085191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1842 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Yerevan, 19 Mar (TASS)—In an adopted resolution the Armenian Supreme Soviet warned the National Self-Determination Association [NSA] in connection with the "unlawful actions which promote the destabilization of political life and disruption of measures for defense of the republic and which are fraught with dangerous consequences," which are permitted by that organization. It has been proposed to the Armenian Council of Ministers that "in the event of further repetition of such actions it should consider the question of cancelling the decision on the registration of the NSA rules."

Another document was also adopted which orders servicemen of Armenian nationality who left military units on the republic's territory to return by 1800 on 26 March to the place of service. In the event they do not return they will be considered deserters and punishment measures envisioned by the law will be used against them.

Correction to Kalinin Name Change

NC1603090791

The following correction pertains to the article headlined "Kalinin Name Changed by City Council," published on page 81 of the 15 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT:

Column one, first paragraph, only sentence make read ...[Text] The Kalinino city soviet held... (correcting name of city)

Same paragraph, only sentence make read ...of the regions of Gugark Province of Greater Armenia... (rewording)